

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## The Presidential Election of 1928

**H**ERBERT CLARK HOOVER of California, former Secretary of Commerce, was elected thirty-first President of the United States, and Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas Vice President in the election on Nov. 6, 1928. The Republican candidates were victorious over Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York and Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, the Democratic nominees for President and Vice President, by a sweeping majority of ballots in the Electoral College as well as by a decisive majority of the more than 36,000,000 popular votes cast at the polls.

The following table shows that of the 531 votes in the Electoral College, Mr. Hoover received 444 from forty States and Governor Smith 87 from eight States:

### HOOVER

Arizona .....	3	New Jersey .....	14
California .....	13	New Mexico .....	3
Colorado .....	6	New York .....	45
Connecticut .....	7	North Carolina .....	12
Delaware .....	3	North Dakota .....	5
Florida .....	6	Ohio .....	24
Idaho .....	4	Oklahoma .....	10
Illinois .....	29	Oregon .....	5
Indiana .....	15	Pennsylvania .....	38
Iowa .....	13	South Dakota .....	5
Kansas .....	10	Tennessee .....	12
Kentucky .....	13	Texas .....	20
Maine .....	6	Utah .....	4
Maryland .....	8	Vermont .....	4
Michigan .....	15	Virginia .....	12
Minnesota .....	12	Washington .....	7
Missouri .....	18	West Virginia .....	8
Montana .....	4	Wisconsin .....	13
Nebraska .....	8	Wyoming .....	3
Nevada .....	3		
New Hampshire ..	4	Total .....	444

### SMITH

Alabama .....	12	Mississippi .....	10
Arkansas .....	9	Rhode Island .....	5
Georgia .....	14	South Carolina .....	9
Louisiana .....	10		
Massachusetts .....	18	Total .....	87

For the purposes of comparison, the electoral votes of the candidates at the two previous elections, when Republican nominees were in each case elected, are given: 1924: Coolidge (Republican), 382; Davis

(Democrat), 136; La Follette (Progressive), 13.

1920: Harding (Republican), 404; Cox (Democrat), 127.

Mr. Hoover's majority exceeded even that of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, when he received 435 electoral votes as against 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft.

Among the outstanding facts of the election was Mr. Smith's failure to carry the State of New York, which had four times elected him Governor. This was all the more remarkable because Franklin D. Roosevelt and Royal S. Copeland, Democratic nominees for Governor and United States Senator, respectively, were both successful in their contests.

The most striking feature of the election was the victory of the Republican candidate in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas, which for the first time since the Civil War of 1861-65, after their franchise was restored, gave their electoral vote to a Republican. The so-called "Border States," Tennessee, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Missouri, which have been regarded as Democratic strongholds for sixty years, also gave their votes to Mr. Hoover by majorities ranging from 38,000 in Tennessee to upward of 184,000 in Kentucky.

The popular vote was the greatest ever cast, both in total number of ballots and in percentage of eligible voters who went to the polls. The total count at this writing, with only a few hundred precincts missing, was 36,410,992, which is more than 58 per cent. of the total eligible voting citizenry of the country. The latest figures give Hoover a vote of 21,383,100 and Smith 15,027,892, a plurality for Hoover of 6,355,208.\*

An analysis made by the United Press

\*Later figures will be found in the article on the events of the month in the United States, in the pages toward the end of this magazine.

showed that the percentage of the total vote won by Hoover in each section of the country was: New England, 53.4; Middle Atlantic States, 57.4; East North Central States, 61.3; West North Central, 61.1; South Atlantic, 53.8; East South Central, 54.1; West South Central, 52.9; Mountain, 61.9, and Pacific, 65.3. In the West South Central States, where Hoover received his smallest percentage, 52.9, Calvin Coolidge in 1924 pooled only 29.4 per cent. of the total vote.

Despite this, however, Smith won about 41 per cent. of the entire popular vote, on the basis of nearly complete figures, as compared to about 33 per cent. for John W. Davis in 1924 and 39 per cent. for James M. Cox in 1920. Smith increased the 1924 Democratic vote by 68 per cent., while Hoover increased the 1924 Republican vote by only 27 per cent.

As to the minor parties that nominated candidates, no figures were available at this writing except in the case of Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, who received about 50,000 votes in New York City.

#### FACTORS IN THE RESULT

As soon as it was apparent that Mr. Hoover had won the Presidency by an overwhelming majority of the States, a nationwide controversy began on the question of the causes that had led to the result. The chief point in dispute was whether and to what extent the fact that Governor Smith is a Roman Catholic had influenced voters one way or the other. "The breaking away of Southern States from their Democratic moorings," *The New York Times* wrote in an editorial on the morning after the election, "will not be, as has been said, the beginning of a new political era in America, where there will be two parties of equal respectability in every State of the Union. Those of the States that formed the Confederacy which voted for Mr. Hoover were won on grounds which will do the country harm, not good. The votes were not given to the Republicans or their candidates. They were votes against Governor Smith. Most of them were cast against the Democratic candidate because he is a Catholic; the rest were because he is an anti-prohibitionist. \* \* \* The extent to which they [the Republicans] profit, if any, will retard and

not advance the American political structure, because they are negatively cast votes, based largely on a harmful superstition."

As against this view, it was urged that, no matter what might be the religious faith of the Democratic candidate, the normal majority of the nation's citizens is Republican, that large numbers of people believe that Republican administration and prosperity go hand in hand, that most men and women engaged in business are fearful of a change in government, and that many other issues totally unconnected with religious belief had to be taken into consideration. The Prohibitionist leaders claimed Mr. Hoover's victory as an overwhelming endorsement of the Eighteenth Amendment and as a blow to the hopes of the Wets; the fact that women went to the polls in almost as large numbers as the men was regarded by some observers to be in support of the Prohibitionist contention.

The belief that the farmers of the Middle West and the Northwest were discontented with Mr. Hoover's attitude on the question of farm relief received no confirmation in the results from the States in those sections of the country. Without a single exception every one of those States cast its electoral vote for Mr. Hoover.

#### REPUBLICAN GAINS IN CONGRESS

The Republican success in the election for President was accompanied by important gains in both houses of the next Congress, thus assuring the new President, for at least the two first years of his Administration, of support for whatever legislative proposals he finds it necessary to make. From the latest returns up to Nov. 9, the composition of the next Congress will be as follows, unless recounts alter the results in some of the close contests:

Senate—Republicans, 55; Democrats, 39; Farmer-Labor, 1; vacant, 1 (seat of Senator-elect Vare, Pa.).

House—Republicans, 269; Democrats, 165; Farmer-Labor, 1.

The composition of the last session of Congress was as follows:

Senate—Republicans, 47; Democrats, 46; Farmer-Labor, 1; vacant, 2.

House—Republicans, 231; Democrats, 193; Farmer-Labor, 2; Socialist, 1; vacant, 8.

Three additional women members were



elected to the House of Representatives, two of them daughters of well-known political leaders. They were Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick (daughter of Mark Hanna), Republican Representative-at-large from Illinois; Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen of Florida (daughter of William Jennings Bryan), Democrat; and Mrs. Ruth B. Pratt, Republican, now a member of the New York Board of Aldermen. This brought up to seven the total number of women members of the next House of Representatives. The four present women Representatives are Mrs. Florence P. Kahn of California, Mrs. Edith N. Rogers of Massachusetts, Mrs. Katherine Langley of Kentucky, all Republicans, and Mrs. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, Democrat. Mrs. Pratt, the first woman elected to the House from New York, replaced a Democrat.

The only Socialist in the House and in Congress, Victor Berger of Milwaukee, Wis., was defeated by the Republican candidate. Oscar De Priest, who ran as a Republican in Illinois, was the first negro elected to the House in thirty-five years.

European reactions to Mr. Hoover's victory were naturally colored by a consideration of his foreign policy in regard to disarmament, reparations and American competition for foreign markets. He is looked upon as a known quantity, who can be expected to follow out the Coolidge policies. Depending upon their approval of these policies, the chief European countries were elated or downcast. The British press was generally pleased with Mr. Hoover's success, predicting greater Anglo-American accord. During the campaign, however, the British public had shown great interest in the personality of Governor Smith, the *London Times* remarking that "whatever his career may yet be, Mr. Smith will long be



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**SENATOR CHARLES CURTIS**

The Vice President-elect, who will preside in the Senate after March 4

remembered as a candidate. Before the campaign had ended he had become as much a cult as a candidate." Germany, chiefly interested in reparations, saw some hope of revision of the Dawes Plan in the election of Mr. Hoover. The President-elect was recalled by the generally friendly press as the "man who supplied starving Germany with food after the war." France and Italy were less enthusiastic. The French, who had never looked with favor on the Coolidge debt policy, hoped for a more liberal attitude from Governor Smith and regarded his Prohibition program as favorable to the French wine industry. Italian Catholics were disappointed at Governor Smith's defeat. But as neither candidate contemplated any change in tariff and immigration policies, sentiment was not intense.

## THE CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN

TWO weeks before the election the Republican Party sent its most eminent members into the field in the first organized offensive against and specific refutation of Governor Smith's two months' militant campaign. To the assistance of Mr. Hoover came former Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, Senator Borah and Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, displaying more zest for battle than the Republican candidate himself. The final strategic move was made by President Coolidge himself, when, four days before election, he issued his first partisan statement in the form of the following telegram to Mr. Hoover:

I have just heard your St. Louis speech with great satisfaction. It is the concluding address of a series which have disclosed a breadth of information, a maturity of thought and a soundness of conclusion on public questions never surpassed in a previous Presidential campaign.

You have had the knowledge and judgment which enabled you to tell the people the truth. You have been clear, candid and courteous, demonstrating your faith in the people and your consciousness that the truth has a power and conclusiveness of its own which is always supreme.

All the discussion has made more plain the wisdom of the plans you have proposed for solving our political, economic and social problems. You have shown your fitness to be President.

I wish to congratulate you on the high quality of your leadership. You are able, experienced, trustworthy and safe. Your success in the campaign seems assured, and I shall turn over the great office of President of the United States of America to your keeping, sure that it will be in competent hands in which the welfare of the people will be secure.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

It was Governor Smith's tariff program, as extensively outlined in his Louisville speech of Oct. 13, that evoked the first direct reply from Mr. Hoover. Governor Smith pledged that there would be no general downward revision of the tariff, and only specific changes as recommended by a non-partisan and expert tariff commission. At Boston on Oct. 15 Mr. Hoover replied that the tariff should not be entrusted to a party which considered the Underwood bill of 1913 "effective competition." He further contended that "the American people will never consent to delegating authority over the tariff to any commission, whether non-partisan or bi-partisan. \* \* \* There is only one commission to which dele-

gation of that authority can be made. That is the great commission of their own choosing, the Congress of the United States and the President." At St. Joseph, Mo., on Oct. 23 Mr. Hughes attacked Governor Smith's proposals as "impracticable." "If history is clear about anything," he said, "it is that you cannot take the tariff out of politics. Congress has the power and will have its say, and what Congress does is necessarily in politics. And while the Democratic candidate and his managers are trying to win the election by abandoning the historic tariff policy of the Democratic Party, it is quite apparent that the party itself through its effective representation in Congress has not been converted." This claim was promptly tested by Governor Smith, who took the following action, as recounted by him in New York on Nov. 3: "A telegram was sent to every Democratic candidate for Congress and every sitting member of the United States Senate who belong to the Democratic Party, and 95 per cent. of them promptly answered back that they stood solidly and squarely behind the tariff principles that I enunciated on behalf of the party in my Louisville speech."

Thus the situation remained at a deadlock, Republicans refusing to believe in the good faith of the Democratic conversion to the protective principle and Democrats declaring that the only issue which remained was that of doing away with log-rolling, which has characterized every tariff bill up to the present.

Probably every campaign manager since that office was conceived has cast about in his mind for an effective catch-word on which to swing his campaign. The only one used in this election which appears to have a chance of survival in history is the term "State socialism" applied by Mr. Hoover in his speech in New York on Oct. 22 to three of Governor Smith's policies. "Because," said Mr. Hoover, "the country is faced with difficulty and doubt over certain national problems—that is, prohibition, farm relief and electrical power—our opponents propose that we must thrust government a long way into businesses which give rise to these problems. In effect they aban-

don the tenets of their own party and turn to State socialism as a solution for the difficulties presented by all three. It is proposed that we shall change from prohibition to the State purchase and sale of liquor. If their agricultural relief program means anything, it means that the Government shall directly or indirectly buy and sell and fix prices of agricultural products. And we are to go into the hydroelectric power business. In other words we are confronted with a huge program of government in business."

To this charge Governor Smith replied two days later in Boston by saying: "Where did I hear that expression before—socialism? It was applied directly to me. Why, it is the stock argument of the power lobby." He then proceeded to call the roll of those Republicans who, in the light of Mr. Hoover's argument, immediately were relegated to the Socialist class. Among the Republican "Socialists" who shared his views on water power Governor Smith mentioned Theodore Roosevelt, Owen D. Young, Charles Evans Hughes and former Governor Miller, the last of whom, said the Governor, "recommended an appropriation for the construction of two power plants on the Erie Canal, and tonight, while we are in this hall, the wheels of these power plants are running around, grinding out electrical energy and the plants belong to the people of the State of New York and the plants are being operated by the people of the State of New York and they are getting a very substantial return for their investment."

"Socialists" who stood with him on the farm problem, continued Governor Smith, included Vice President Dawes, former Governor Lowden and all the Congressmen who had supported the McNary-Haugen bill, which assessed a fee on the exportable farm surplus. As to Prohibition, the Governor asked: "Does Mr. Hoover seriously desire the American people to believe that the application of the Jeffersonian Democratic theory of States' rights is socialism?" Again, "socialism" had been the stock argument used by New York State Republicans, asserted Governor Smith, when they attacked such projects as the Widows' Pension law and the Workmen's Compensation law, "which set up an insurance company

under State ownership and State operation."

The charge of "socialism" was again made on Oct. 26, this time by Mr. Hughes at Buffalo. "What Mr. Hoover meant by State socialism," he explained, "is plain enough. He used the term in its proper sense as applied to the Bismarckian philosophy of the centralization of government, dominating all the activities of the people. Mr. Hoover is a liberal and is opposed to State socialism."

Commenting on this debate which infringed on his own political territory, Norman Thomas, the candidate of the Socialist Party for President, indignantly denied that what Governor Smith proposed could be honored with the name of "socialism." Furthermore, the Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party asserted that "Mr. Hoover is wrong in accusing Governor Smith of favoring any thoroughgoing beneficial program for protection of the public against the unholy alliance of private monopoly with government."

Secretary of the Treasury Mellon entered the field of political controversy to reply to Governor Smith on the issue of Republican economy. On a second tour of the doubtful States of the West, Governor Smith took occasion at Sedalia, Mo., on Oct. 16, to attack the Coolidge Administration for increasing the cost of running the Federal Government by \$200,000,000 between 1924 and 1927. Besides accusing the Republicans of presenting a false picture to the people by claiming credit for reduction of expenditures which were inevitable after the war ended, the Democratic candidate charged waste in the failure to build on Federal property while paying large rents. Mr. Mellon replied on Oct. 17 with the statement that economy meant wise spending rather than reduction of expenditures. He claimed that the Governor was dealing with something that he did not understand. The same refutation was made by Mr. Hughes in a speech in Chicago on Oct. 24.

Perhaps the most serious problem before the Democratic candidate during the entire campaign was to convince the people that he was an apostle of prosperity, to expose what he considered the false claims of the Republicans to a monopoly on prosperity and to destroy the deeply embedded fear that Democratic Administrations meant bad



times for business, large and small. To this end the first step was the appointment of J. J. Raskob, former Chairman of the General Motors Corporation and a man of great wealth, as National Chairman. The reversal of the traditional Democratic tariff policy was another strong plea for the confidence of business. And finally, Governor Smith, in many of his speeches, notably at Newark on Oct. 31 and New York on Nov. 3, declared his friendship for labor and his intention of aiding the unemployed by undertaking public works when depression threatened. He promised the workingman that under his leadership a Democratic Administration would do nothing that would take a five-cent piece out of the pay envelope. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Hughes meanwhile continued to warn of the "turn toward disaster" which would follow a change of Administration.

After a conference with Senator Borah Mr. Hoover announced on Oct. 27 his intention, if elected, of calling a special session of Congress next Spring to legislate on farm relief, provided the question had not been adequately dealt with by the present Congress. Mr. Hoover's statement read as follows:

The question of a special session of Congress after March 4, in event of the return of the Republican Party, has been under discussion for some time. There are a number of questions, particularly agricultural relief, which urgently require solution and should not be delayed for a whole year. It is our most urgent economic problem.

I should hope it can be dealt with at the regular session this Fall, and thus a special session be avoided. If, however, that cannot be accomplished, I would, if elected, not allow the matter to drift and would of necessity call an extra session so as to secure early constructive action.

This promise was interpreted as a final plea for the farm vote, about which the Republicans were in doubt at that stage of the campaign.

An unexpected development, in a campaign already peppered with surprises, was the defection of prominent Progressives, among them Senator Norris of Nebraska and Senator Blaine of Wisconsin. "For a

Progressive there is no other place to land except in the Smith camp," announced Senator Norris on Oct. 24. The Nebraskan Senator, who championed the Muscle Shoals bill for the Government development of hydroelectric power, vetoed last June, based his new allegiance on Governor Smith's power policy, on his farm program and on a denunciation of bigotry. He admitted disagreement with the Governor's views on Prohibition, but dismissed them as "not of vital importance in this campaign." Senator Robert M. La Follette refused to give whole-hearted support to either candidate, but declared that "public declarations and definite commitments of Governor Smith had been in substantial accord with the Progressives' views on water power, farm relief, the injunction in labor disputes, corruption in public service and the abuse of Presidential power in Nicaragua."

The attitude of William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury under Wilson and Governor Smith's chief rival for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1924, when John W. Davis was the compromise candidate, was clarified only three days before the election. He made the following brief statement: "I am absolutely opposed to Governor Smith's position on prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment, but I shall preserve my party allegiance."

It is generally agreed that this has been a great educational campaign. What undoubtedly did much to bring more than 36,000,000 voters to the polls was the expenditure of nearly \$9,000,000 by the major parties, mainly for speakers and campaign literature throughout the country. For the first time the Democrats were not at a financial disadvantage. Up to Nov. 1 the Republican Party had collected in all \$4,911,744 and had spent \$4,744,361. Democratic funds totaled \$4,088,933, of which \$4,008,023 had been spent. The reports revealed that in the last week of October, as the campaign was nearing a whirlwind finish, \$770,465 was added to the Hoover fund and \$1,023,894 was contributed to Smith.



# President-Elect Hoover

## *An Intimate Study*

By RAY LYMAN WILBUR

PRESIDENT OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY; FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE  
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

MY first acquaintance with Herbert Hoover came thirty-six years ago when as a newly arrived freshman in Encina Hall, the big dormitory of Stanford University, he knocked on my door to see whether I would send my laundry to the company of which he was the agent. He not only got my rather limited business, but he became my friend, offering me some good suggestions about getting some sort of a job to help out my precarious finances. His advice about my classroom work was: "Do your work so that the professors will notice it." Since then I have been associated with him in college politics, war work in Washington, university business, community chest enterprises, child health organizations and relief activities. I have camped and fished with him, been in the same automobile accidents, and have stood with him at the bedside of sick and of dying loved ones. His children have gone to school with mine in the public schools at Stanford University, and Palo Alto, and in the university afterward. I have known them since birth, and have seen them get an education typical of this generation of American boys. I have been in constant touch with him all the time since college days and have first-hand knowledge of his remarkable and romantic career.

It is my purpose in this article to give a sketch of this man's life as I have seen it. In the first place, I must warn the cynics, and the so-called "hard-boiled" critics who have no faith in ideals and no regard for the dignity and nobility of the human being, that they will never understand Herbert Hoover.

He first assumed prominence in college days by his advocacy of a new Students' Constitution, and of better business organization of student athletics and other activities. Although an orphan boy and a self-made college man, he refused to take a salary as Treasurer of the Associated Stu-

dents as provided for under the new Constitution since he had worked only to put the plan through, and would accept no personal financial advantage from it. The voucher system which he adopted, following the plan of the United States Geological Survey, with which he had personal experience during his vacations, compelled a complete financial accounting. This is typical of all of his later financial plans during the period when his organizations handled hundreds of millions of dollars. His sense of service and of trusteeship is so strong that he has always insisted on paying his personal expenses and never receiving a salary in anything except his professional work. There was a rare prevision in this, as it has since hampered the vultures seeking for carrion.

Boys living together in a university, going through the struggles of youth, engaging in the sharp politics of college life, learn to know each other just as they do when they live and fight together in the army or navy. I can say frankly that Hoover has been no surprise to me as he has gone forward in the life of the world. His qualities today are the ones I saw in him as a boy; they are simply operating in a larger way. When I hear it said that Hoover is no politician, I wonder what the term means. Perhaps the ordinary acceptance of the term is too restricted. At any rate, he understood politics well enough to win his battles in college days, to handle European politicians or statesmen as they never were handled before in war days, to get the needed appropriations from Congress for the rapid growth of the great Department of Commerce during his official activity at Washington, and to get nominated at Kansas City. Not only is he a good practical politician but he is a statesman as well.

At Stanford, Hoover left the reputation of a modest, effective leader with keen financial sense, unusual fighting abilities for

what he considered right, and as one of Dr. Branner's prize students in geology and mining. I can remember that just after his graduation, and before he got a job as a day laborer in one of the deep gold mines at Grass Valley, we were together on the Stanford campus talking, as boys will, about our hopes and aspirations. He surprised me by telling me that I could be a professor, or even President of Stanford, if I did not want to go on and study to be a physician, as was my plan. Even then he had that uncanny ability to recognize the possibilities in other men which has permitted him to build up rapidly great volunteer and governmental organizations through the selection of a capable personnel.

#### HOOVER'S FIRST JOB

After a few mining jobs in the Western States, his chance came when a position was offered to him in the gold mines of Australia. It was a great day for America when this young, practically trained scientist started off across the great Pacific to represent American engineering and American business in a distant country. It began with him that knowledge of other peoples and other nations which has been of such benefit to the United States in the positions which he has held as Food Administrator and Secretary of Commerce, and will make him of inestimable service to us and to the world in the years to come. He soon sent back for some of his fellow-American engineers, old pals of his and mine, who began to call him "the Chief"—that term of endearment which has since followed him into every phase of his life's work. He had been "Bert" to us all in college, to distinguish him from Herbert Hicks, who had run with him on a popular ticket for student body offices. He and his fellow-engineers began to order American mining machinery, and to introduce new methods of refining ores which proved highly profitable. Before long he passed through California on his way to Europe to report on his work to his superiors. When I saw him then, he was growing a beard and trying to appear old enough to be impressive. He was only partially successful, for he is only a fine, big, wholesome boy at heart even to this day, and in his middle

twenties he could not overcome his juvenile appearance. Nevertheless, his brain won for him new responsibilities and a fine job in China.

He took Lou Henry, a Stanford student, along this time as his bride. She was an out-of-doors girl, interested in rocks, flowers, trees, horses and hills. Their marriage was the natural result of the friendly association of the laboratory and the campus. In China, they lived through the Boxer Rebellion. Hoover knew that I was just getting a start, so he sent me a check one day asking me to order several thousand dollars' worth of assay and mining supplies and ship them by a certain boat, and to take a commission for myself. The supplies reached Tien-tsin just in time to be burned up by the Boxers, but the commission did me a lot of good. I mention this because it is so characteristic of the way in which he has helped hundreds of others. It was characteristic, too, for him to turn to San Francisco for his supplies. Naturally, he and Mrs. Hoover always thought of California as their home, and of the Stanford campus as the place in which they wished to live. Mr. Hoover soon opened professional offices in San Francisco and rented a home on the campus. Not until he was elected trustee of the university in 1912 did he buy a campus home. The period between his graduation in 1895 and his selection as a trustee in 1912 was the one in which he built up his great reputation as a mining engineer. In this he acquired a moderate fortune, largely from his salary and consultation fees.

#### FEEDING EUROPE DURING WORLD WAR

In 1914 he was in Europe representing the International Exposition in San Francisco which was to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal. He had been given the difficult task of securing the participation of some of the European countries. With thousands of other fellow-Americans, he was caught there by the war. Their letters of credit were valueless, and they were unable to make any plans or to care for themselves. With others, he soon arranged a financial scheme by which they were not only assisted but transported home. This attracted the attention of Ambassador Page, so that when the problem of feeding





HERBERT CLARK HOOVER AT 19

This picture shows the President-elect as a sophomore at Stanford University, where he was studying for the A. B. in engineering, which he received in 1895

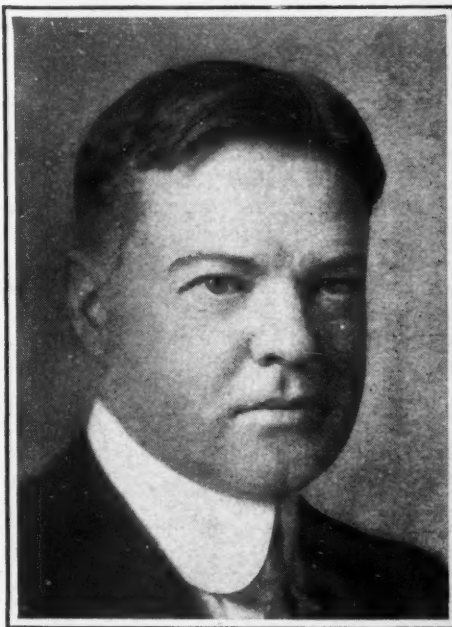
the people of Belgium and of Northern France who were inside the occupied zone came up for settlement Mr. Page recommended Mr. Hoover, and he was given that gigantic responsibility. In order to accept it, he had to cut loose from his active professional career, and since that date he has been engaged entirely in public or governmental service.

I need not recall here the skill and leadership shown in the feeding of these distressed peoples. I like best to think not of his great organizing skill and of the successful negotiations with Governments, but of the confidence which he soon secured from all sides. Think of a man who could go from one war front to the other in the midst of the greatest war and the greatest suspicion in history without question of any sort! His own signature was his passport. He crossed the Channel many times through the submarine zone; his ship was once

bombed by an airplane and he narrowly escaped death. So great was his ability to retain his own counsel that it was not until the war was well over that even his intimate friends knew his own reactions to the conditions as he had faced them on the different battlefronts.

The Belgian Relief was a great volunteer enterprise. While relief funds were given by the different Governments, large sums were given voluntarily, and the workers, drawn principally from America, were men and women attracted to Hoover's side by the opportunity for service. His unique qualities of leadership are shown best in voluntary organizations. He asks no one to work harder than he works, or to give more than he gives. His method is that of teamwork. When agreements are reached, he carries them through the way a captain commands his ship, modifying his course to meet the conditions that may arise.

When we entered the war, President Wilson, through the National Council of Defense, sent for Mr. Hoover to come to the United States to give assistance in the organization of our food problems. These had

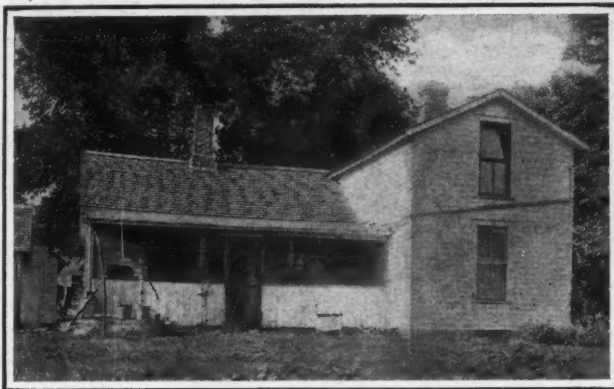


Harris &amp; Ewing

Mr. Hoover at 43, when he was appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson in 1917

been found to be of pre-eminent importance in every country engaged in the war. Word was sent to me that he would come on a certain boat. I can well remember the gray morning when his liner came in to the dock in New York City. The ship just ahead of his and the one just behind had been torpedoed. We went together to Washington and I saw from its beginnings the organization of the Food Administration. My own part was to organize the food conservation division.

Rarely, if ever, in the history of any nation has there been such an enterprise. It was war time. It was natural that drastic and powerful forces should be put to work to control the food supply of the United States. Mr. Hoover discarded the plan of forced rationing used in other countries, and had his work called by the name of Food Administration, not Food Control. He appealed to the American home, and organized millions of these homes into a great volunteer unit, where every man, woman and child could play a contributing part in saving food for the soldiers of our army and for the peoples of the Allied countries. With the submarine destroying shipping at an alarming rate, the necessity of transporting food from the nearest port, and the need of prompt action, because of the shortage of wheat, a series of difficult problems had to be faced. All of us, even those who were in the schools at that time, remember the spirit which animated the Food Administration, and the wonderful service which the women of America brought in this way to their country. Many a young voter can remember the messages brought to his school by the worker of the Food Administration. It was a colossal educational project, where a whole people had to be convinced and stimulated so to act at each meal as to help to win the war. Mr. Hoover knew the fundamental idealism of our people, the devotion of the American woman to a cause, the romantic urge of the American boy and girl for service and sacrifice, which expressed itself at home and in the millions of boys and men in uni-



Times Wide World

The cabin at West Branch, Iowa, in which Herbert Hoover was born on Aug. 10, 1874. The wing at the right was added several years later

form who brought a new and decisive force into the war. His life as a farm boy, his struggles as an orphan, his residence in several States, his faith in human nature to behave at its best for a high cause, all helped him to judge our people correctly. He called on the volunteer spirit with confidence when many of those about him were urging drastic regulations. It was an inspiration to live with him through this testing period. He at first seemed to be only an idealist, but when the practical results poured in in the form of 50,000,000 bushels of wheat saved by the American people and landed among the soldiers in their homes in Europe, the critics changed their minds.

#### WORK AS FOOD ADMINISTRATOR

In the handling of the large food business of the country, conference and co-operation were the methods adopted. Literally hundreds of groups, representing all phases of organized American life, came to Washington to discuss their problems, or to serve as experts in advising those in charge of the Food Administration. Mr. Hoover demonstrated a degree of patience and a skill in the handling of these groups that was the marvel of all his fellow workers. I well remember one day when, after a conference in which practically all the members had disagreed with Mr. Hoover's point of view, several of us got together, and one man said, "Perhaps we had better

do as Mr. Hoover suggested; his batting average is so much better than ours on all these problems; he has been right so many more times than we have."

I know of no one who is more willing to listen to facts than Mr. Hoover. He will change his point of view at any time if he can be shown that he is wrong by the presentation of facts unknown to him. He has the mind of a scientist seeking practical solutions to problems.

The Food Administration was a great emergency organization. With the help of the Department of Agriculture, there was developed a remarkable co-operation of the American farmer with the American home. With the farm producing the food and the American home saving it, long trains of cars were soon passing to the seaboard with the speed of passenger trains, and great fleets of steamers were constantly leaving for Europe.

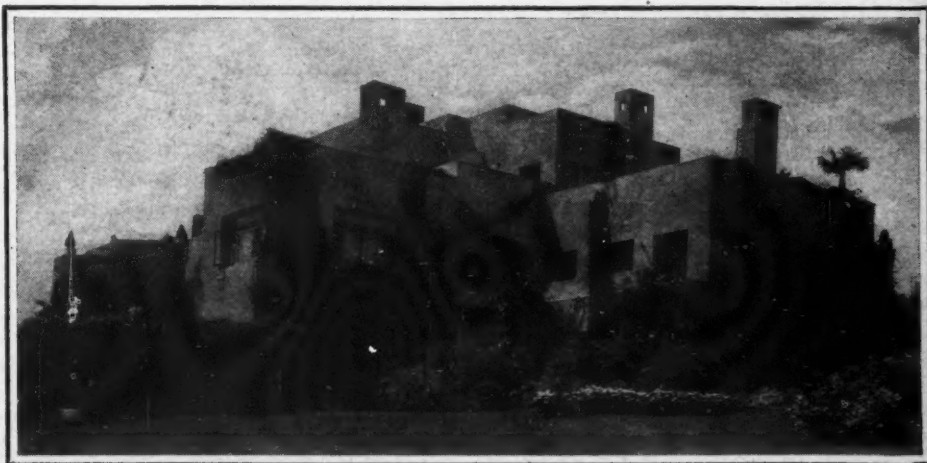
#### RELIEF WORK AFTER THE WAR

When the armistice came, Mr. Hoover immediately transferred a portion of his staff and went himself to Europe. Every American is familiar with the part which he played in bringing order out of chaos there. They know something of the way in which Bolshevism was checked by supplying food to hungry peoples. It was to the children of Europe that Mr. Hoover felt an immediate personal responsibility. He

felt that they were not responsible for what their countries had done, and that they had suffered in a most unreasonable manner. The sending of food to the children of Germany, the organization of Finland, the protection of Austria and of Hungary from starvation were all worked out by Americans under American direction. There have been great pageants in history, great processions of soldiers going to or returning from war, but I like to think that the most remarkable procession of all times occurred in Poland when tens of thousands of children carrying our flag paraded before Mr. Hoover—a private American citizen—to express the gratitude and affection of a whole people for what had been done for them by the United States under his leadership.

We have in the possession of Stanford University, in the Hoover war library, the full records of all these relief organizations, including the financial statements as worked out by auditors unconnected with Mr. Hoover's staff and selected by others. Every penny is accounted for, even though, when the French Government was asked to audit one of the accounts covering the distribution of many millions of francs for the people in the occupied portion of France, the French Minister of Finance stated that they had other things more worth while to do than to check up on the honesty and capacity of Mr. Hoover.

Later on, in the great Russian famine,



Times Wide World

The present home of Mr. and Mrs. Hoover at Palo Alto, Cal.



Mr. Hoover's appeal to the people of the United States and to other countries made it possible to save millions from starvation and degradation. A sample of his qualities in emergency organization was shown in the recent Mississippi flood. Any one of these great projects would have been a life work for almost any other man. His genius for organization, his skill in selecting others to assist him, and his knowledge of world finance and world affairs permit him to do easily what would be practically impossible for many others. He has a searchlight mind, and is able to turn it full blast on one subject after another. This, combined with a splendid memory, makes him effective in many fields. He is essentially a doer, not a talker. He eliminates waste in conversation as he has eliminated it in industry. His resourcefulness and versatility make him a great ally in any cause. Obstacles are invitations to his mind. He instinctively seeks a way through, over, and around. This has brought many problems to his door and has given him the name of the best "trouble-shooter" in Washington.

His career as Secretary of Commerce is familiar to every one. His conduct of this department has been singularly free from criticism. No questions have been asked regarding this in the many that have come to us from all parts of the country, so I judge there is no "whispering campaign" being conducted in this direction.

#### HIS INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

Such is the record of a great American who has served his country at home and abroad. If there is a saner and a more loyal American, I have never seen one. He has been in all parts of the world; he has handled large affairs in many of them. He knows the habits, the methods of thought, and the aspirations, as well as the commercial and human needs of the people of the earth. Now that the world has grown smaller with modern transportation of goods, men, and information; now that the world's supply of foods and materials is held in common by the human family, and now, when a prodigious but delicate economic machine has been constructed to handle our affairs, a man of Hoover's training in the position of leadership is vital not only to us, but to the world. We have been

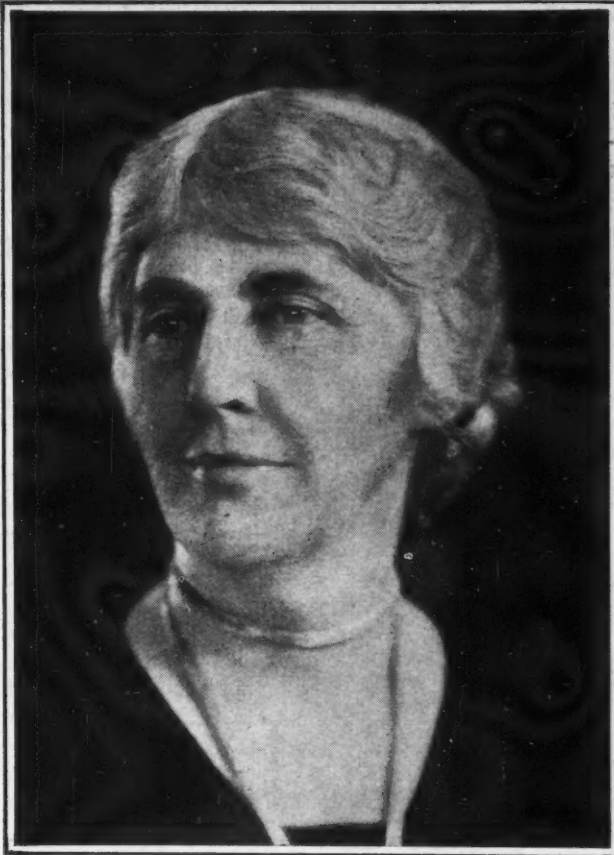
locked together in a great interdependent world system of trade and business. No one knows this better than Herbert Hoover. I look for a new era of international understanding under his guidance. Conference and cooperation are now the established methods of business. With him, they will become *the* methods of international relations. He believes in the solvent power of the spirit of good-will.

I have been asked whether he has any weaknesses. Yes; he is too generous. He has to be protected by his associates and friends from giving away more than he should. He is not always discriminating in his charities. I remember once how one of our old associates who had borrowed from all his friends until he could obtain no more was waiting in Hoover's office in San Francisco when I went to see him. I warned Hoover that this man would probably try to get a loan, and that we had all decided not to let him have any more. Later on, when I saw Hoover, I asked him, "How much did he get out of you?" He smiled and said, "Fifty dollars, but it was worth it to see him smile." Mr. Hoover has always gotten on well with those who work with him or for him, because of his generous nature and his thoughtful consideration of their welfare. To him a workingman is not a wage earner, but the head of a home, a husband and a father. Children find a ready place in his heart. He is not given to fulsome praise. His commendation for a job well done is to offer another and better one at some early opportunity. He never forgets a service or fails a friend in need.

#### SPIRIT OF PIONEER

There is in him the true spirit of the pioneer who meets things as they come without complaint or lamentation over spilt milk. His long experience with men and women in handling different tasks has made him a keen judge of human nature. His sympathy with crooks is as near zero as in any one I have ever known, but his understanding of human weaknesses and ordinary human frailties is such that it never expects perfection. His life in frontier communities has made him an admirer of action, independence and vigor in men.

It is difficult to give a complete and true picture of the personal qualities of



**MRS. HERBERT HOOVER**  
The new First Lady of the Land

Underwood

this fine American. His human qualities are such that he can answer distress only by action. The tears of the widow and the orphan mean to him that something must be done. He acts in individual cases or in groups, seeking solution to immediate needs and laying plans for the prevention of future misery. His great heart, his great physical endurance, his unusual ability to work at high pressure, his broad vision, and his deep human understanding have made his life effective in the service of his fellow-men.

#### HOOVER'S TRAINING IDEAL FOR PRESIDENCY

I cannot help but feel that there is a destiny in human affairs, and that in Herbert Hoover, with his unique understanding of our great economic problems and his

deep sympathy with mankind, we have our chosen leader. As I have watched him go through the campaign recently terminated, I have felt as I do when I see a great ship going ahead under its powerful engines, undisturbed by the cross-currents and the waves, toward its destined port.

If ten years after the war between the North and the South a group of Californians had gathered out here on the Pacific Slope to determine upon the proper choice and preparation of a man whom they would propose for the Presidency of the United States in 1928, could they have done better than has Providence?

Remember that the great railroad across the Sierras had recently been completed and such a group would be thinking of the United States as directly attached to Western Canada and Alaska, Mexico and Central and South America and bordering upon the Pacific. Remember, too, that they would be thinking in terms of the development of the great

Western part of the United States as well as the relations at home and abroad of a vast continental nation.

They would choose to have this prospective leader born in the prairie States from American pioneer stock, with his father a man of the people, a blacksmith, to give our candidate a constitution of steel, and with a mother of devotion and religion, to provide him with a simple American home of high quality. They would want him to have the wholesome boyhood experience of farm life.

They might not be harsh enough to make him an orphan and to develop his self-reliance to an unusual degree, but certainly they would surround him with faithful relatives. As he grew up, they would send him south into Oklahoma to know about



THE HOOVER FAMILY

Associated Press

The next President and First Lady with their children, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover Jr. and Allan H. Hoover

the Indians and then west into Oregon with relatives to grow up there and get experience with that part of the Pacific Coast, and then to come to California to one of our universities during its pioneering stage to become associated with other young men and women of promise and to have contacts with great teachers and great educational leaders.

They would want him to take a specific training in some field adapted to his mentality. Certainly none could be better than that of geology, mining and engineering, for it would take him into the California hills, acting as part of the United States Geological Survey, and would give him a unique opportunity to learn to love outdoor life and to know California.

Perhaps, too, in preparation for some

great future national responsibility they would send him into Arkansas and let him spend a Summer there. After graduating him from a university, where he developed great leadership among his fellows, could they do better than to have him go into the mines in Grass Valley and have him learn something by hard labor of the workers of the mines?

Then what better than under the guidance of a great engineer to send him to represent America and the new processes developed there in mining to Australia, Mexico, South America, China, India and Russia and Europe, and to train him there over a period of years in meeting the forces of nature, in handling men, in dealing with Governments and in learning something of the great economic machine growing up in the world?

Then, too, they would want him to have a part in the Great War, so that his abilities could receive further training. How better could it be done than to have him represent America at its best,

to have him guard the welfare of millions of women and children living in the war zones, to build up a great financial structure and a great machine for the distribution of food, clothes and cheer, calling upon the best spirits and the great desire for sympathy throughout the whole world to lend him constant aid.

#### UNIQUE TRAINING

Then, when our own country goes into the war, they would want him at Washington giving the benefits of his unique training to the great problems facing a democracy interjected into the master contest of all time. They would want him to know of our fundamental idealism, to understand the people, to work with the women in the homes, to know the children and, above all,



to aid in permitting every one to contribute toward meeting the common danger.

Then, too, with the war over, and its great reconstruction problems to meet, how better could they train him than to have him added to the working administrative machinery of two great Administrations and to have him use his developed talents, administrative skill, his knowledge of engineering, in developing and controlling the great power of the American people, expressed in the form of economic forces?

They would want his guidance and direction so that America would not be viewed as the great problem of the world but viewed as the great nation of the world assisting in handling the world's problems. Above all, no matter what they might want in the way of training and experience, they would want a man of courage, of decision, of warm human sympathy, of vision and of

brain. And, above all, a man of heart, a man of great heart; one who understands human beings and their problems, one who compels human beings to work at their best, one who has done more service to his fellow human beings than any one else alive.

We are surrounded in this great universe by unseen forces. When we discover the universal laws of nature they are dependable and sure. We know not what forces control our lives and the destinies of our nation, but it seems to me as though Providence had prepared the very man for us. We have him at hand after he has gone through these processes and become the outstanding man of his day. Above everything else, it is as a man, a great man, a true man, a man who understands America at its best and the American home, that I call his name, Herbert Hoover.

## Cross-Currents in the Election

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY;  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

FOREIGN critics of American institutions as well as some Americans who cultivate a detached point of view are quadrennially distressed by the crudeness and uproar of our Presidential elections. One of these supposed calamities has just swept over the Union and has left it more united and more responsible than it was before. Now that the tumult and the shouting have duly died, it is opportune to take stock and to see how far this process of electing a Chief Magistrate is desirable or otherwise.

Undeniably the recent election again justified the method of choosing the Chief Magistrate of our Federal Republic. For 140 years suggestions have been made from time to time that Presidents should be elected like Governors by a majority of the electorate. The framers of the Constitution, who were perfectly familiar with the straight election system, developed the existing method of choice in Presidential elections. The successful President has, with

few exceptions, received a plurality of popular votes and frequently a majority of all the votes, although Wilson was elected in 1912 with two and a half million votes less than his two opponents combined. That is to say, the theory is that nobody should be elected President by only a section of the people.

It was the judgment of the Fathers of the Constitution, confirmed by the later experience of nearly a century and a half, that to be successful a Presidential candidate must have friends and adherents in various parts of the country and in many States. In the election of 1928 almost no attention has at this writing been paid to the total votes for the rival candidates. In the canvas both Hoover and Smith appealed in public addresses and in their letters of acceptance and other announcements to a great variety of territorial elements. In a very close election by popular plurality the temptation would always be to overcount the votes where the party majorities

were the heaviest, and thus to increase the total popular majority.

The recent election for the first time has brought out the electoral values of the women's votes. Till this year it has been the general conviction that women entitled to vote were only about half as likely to use their privilege as their menfolk. That reproach is now removed, and many excellent judges of the canvass believe that the women's vote was decisive. Certainly it had great weight in several States where the result was close. The number of women elected to important offices, including membership in the House of Representatives, has been increased; and there is even a suggestion that out of so many million women voters, at least one might be found who is capable of holding a Cabinet position.

The geographical aspect of the election has been astounding. The Solid South, which was crystallizing before the Civil War and has been hardly dented since 1876, seems at last to have broken up. Parts of it are bound to reunite, but everybody is aware that the growth of manufactures in the South, based on the raw materials produced there, has brought about a change of attitude on the question of protective tariff duties and that there is a permeation of the border States, Florida and Oklahoma, by Northern incomers. Perhaps Southern Democrats realize that no man south of the Mason-Dixon Line has since the Civil War had so much as even a faint chance for the Presidential nomination of the party strongest in the South. That Texas, the largest and destined to be the most populous State in the Union, should have voted for a "Black Republican," however much bleached by his Western birth and experience, is one of the marvels of contemporary politics.

The campaign has brought out various new methods of influencing the minds of the voters which have much affected the campaign and will be factors of great importance in the future. First in importance is doubtless campaigning by radio, now employed for the first time, with its immense effects. The whole future influence of the newspaper press is involved. Great use has been made of the journals of wide circulation and influence; but the old-fash-

ioned county and local papers, which long had an important part in campaigning, and often received some of the fruits of victory, are losing influence. It is said that in the State of Illinois there are hardly any local Democratic papers left. There is no evidence that the great metropolitan papers have a wide circulation in rural regions. It is the radio that is becoming a substitute for the local press and a rival to the most powerful and long-established newspapers, both in the matter of advertising and of affecting public opinion. Both national parties, from end to end of the country, have used this means of circulating the proceedings of their conventions, the letters of acceptance of the candidates and the speeches of candidates and their principal supporters. Since Roosevelt there has been no such active campaigner as Governor Smith, whose contact with the voters has been much extended by the radio activity of his publicity managers.

#### THE TARIFF ISSUE

On the other hand, this remarkable feat of establishing a personal touch with a vast number of voters, though it doubtless made many conversions, especially in the East, seems to have aroused the combativeness of the voters in the South and West. Of course, the Democratic candidate's change of standpoint on the question of the tariff was a two-edged blade, for it aroused the intense resentment of the old-fashioned anti-tariff Democrat, while leaving to the other side the argument that the most that could be promised for a Democratic tariff was that it would not differ substantially from a Republican tariff. Nevertheless, too much praise cannot be given to the campaigning genius of both the Republican and Democratic candidates. They went far, they spoke vigorously, they made a human appeal, and they gave the people of the United States a magnificent run for their money.

That raises another serious question: Are the people of the United States henceforth committed to a system of enormous expenses which must infallibly work backward to State and national elections? Millions have been poured out in previous campaigns; now, under salutary acts of Congress, the country is informed from week

to week of the money that is poured into the campaign. Yet the people of the United States have not worried in the least so long as the expenses appear to be "legitimate." Nor can either party any longer make a virtue of accusing the other of availing itself of the moral and financial support of immensely wealthy capitalists. It is a great feat to reach millions of voters; but it means that somebody must provide millions of dollars which under present legislation cannot come from the public treasury.

#### EFFECT ON SECTIONALISM

The effect of the election upon sectionalism is very marked; not only has the Solid South been broken up but solid New England has been fractured. That the Democratic vote should be made up of two of the most thoroughly rock-ribbed Republican communities in the Union, while eight States of the Solid South proved to be hollow so far as their Democratic vote was concerned, suggests that the effort to bring together "bloes" of States in Congress are not likely to succeed. Disaster has befallen all attempts to hold together all the disappointed farmers of the country in a demand for legislation favorable to agriculture. The two candidates differed little on the question of the duty of the Federal Government to do something to aid the farmers. The argument that if a tariff can make the manufacturing States prosperous, some kind of reversed tariff would have the same effect on the agricultural States, has certainly been accented by the election. The controversy during the campaign over the control of water powers by the National or State Governments does not seem to have made a deep impression on the minds of voters. The incoming President is absolutely committed to the protection or reclamation of land subject to overflow by the lower Mississippi; to the construction of a canal system, presumably between Lake Erie and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and perhaps in the lower South; and also to some positive measure of relief to agriculture by governmental legislation on exports. The elected candidate has a right to feel that whatever the difficulties of those projects, they must be part of his program.

The control of the electoral machinery

has in general been admirable. A few backward States declined to provide the necessary machinery for registration before election; and various States not so backward are entirely determined that negroes shall have no votes where their vote might turn the election. In most of the large States the investigation beforehand of what voters are qualified has proved to be a decided check on fraudulent voting. The ease of the voting machines and the quickness of the returns from their results in New York City is likely to give that sensible method of voting a great stimulus.

Without doubt the two questions most in the minds of the voters throughout the campaign have been the probable effect of the election on the ease of obtaining intoxicating liquor and the relation of religious faith to candidacy for national office. Considering the great attention given in the campaign to methods of enforcing the Prohibition Amendment and the Volstead Law and the repeated pledges of the successful candidate that he would enforce the law as it appears on the statute book, the friends of National Prohibition seem to have had the advantage in the election. In so far as it was a referendum on the question, Shall the national control of the liquor traffic be continued? the ayes seem to have it by a considerable though not precisely ascertainable majority.

As for the religious question, there can be no doubt that the religious beliefs and affiliations of the candidate from New York caused him a heavy loss in the Southern States and probably some defections in the other parts of the country. On the other hand, his majority in Massachusetts seems to be due in considerable part to the preference of the French Catholics, who have usually been Republicans in that State. A feature of the last two campaigns has been the canvass of various newspapers and other instrumentalities intended to discover before the election the average opinions of the multitude of voters. The canvass of the *Literary Digest*, embracing in 1928 nearly 3,000,000 voters, has in the last two campaigns foreshadowed the final result. Admitting that the persons reached by these inquiries are on the average more inclined to reason about such matters than other voters, the prognostications in both



1924 and 1928 have been so close to the actual results as to be almost alarming, for if it once gets into the popular mind that it is possible to tell weeks before the election by non-partisan methods what proportion of the average voters stand for one or the other candidate, the zest is taken out of the final vote. In both 1924 and 1928 it has been clear that a preponderating majority of voters had their minds set some time before the election, so that the \$10,000,000 expenditures for publicity and argument seem wasted. However, that is not the chief advantage of the deductions from these preliminary analyses of the votes. Perhaps the largest and most grati-

fying tribute to the common sense and intelligence of the voter is that so many men, whether regular members of political parties or free lances, do come to opinions of their own; that there is a detachable fraction of voters in both parties who care enough about public matters to change their minds when shown reason therefor. Whatever the divisions between voters or the machinery for ascertaining the numbers before election, the polls are the place for final, solemn, unchangeable results of months of appeal to the minds of 40,000,000 voters. And vast has been the effect of listening to argument and making up the voter's own mind.

## Analyzing the Election Results

By FABIAN FRANKLIN

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, 1879-95; EDITOR, *The Baltimore News*, 1895-1908; ASSOCIATE EDITOR, *The New York Evening Post*, 1909-17

THE Presidential campaign of 1928 was the most tumultuous since that of 1896, and has come to a close more dramatic than any within living memory. To say of such a campaign that it cannot justly be interpreted as a decisive pronouncement on any political issue may seem paradoxical; nevertheless it is strictly true. And it is true for two separate and distinct reasons. In the first place, the issues were numerous, and no one of them was paramount, or even declared to be paramount, or anything like paramount, by either of the candidates; and whenever this is the case it is always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to determine with any confidence what share in the result is to be ascribed to any one issue. But this is not all; for in the campaign just closed vast multitudes of voters were swayed by forces of tremendous potency not bound up with any avowed political issue.

Nevertheless, there are some conclusions which, even at this early date, and without close examination of particulars, are irresistibly thrust upon the observer, and which it is perhaps worth while to set forth.

As regards issues, in the strict sense of the word, it is clear that only one played

any great part in the outcome of the election. This, of course, is the Prohibition issue. That the Prohibition issue did play a great part we know, not so much from the election figures as from the unquestioned prominence which that issue has held in the minds of a large part of the American people throughout the past few years. There can be no doubt that millions of citizens, in voting for Smith as against Hoover, or for Hoover as against Smith, were swayed decisively by their sentiments on the great issue of Federal Prohibition. But how many these millions were, and how they were divided as between the two candidates, it is impossible to say now, and probably never will be possible to say with any approach to accuracy. Close and careful and impartial study of the figures may throw some light on the matter; but it is not to be expected that the result of such study will be of anything like conclusive character.

Of Governor Smith's other issues it may be said with almost complete assurance that none of them had sufficient influence with the voters to make a great impression on the result. Vigorous as was his campaign, clear and emphatic as were his pronouncements on each of these issues, it

is plain that there was no potent response to his appeal. The people—of course I mean the great mass of the people whose active support had to be enlisted if anything of vital import in the election was to be accomplished—simply did not care enough about these issues to rally to his standard on account of them.

#### SMITH ISSUES IGNORED

The one issue that seemed to give promise of differing from the others in this regard was that of agricultural relief; the fact that, in spite of Senator Norris's advocacy, Governor Smith was overwhelmingly defeated in the great Midwest grain region shows that the potentialities of this issue were greatly overestimated. And I think it is safe to say that the chief source of this overestimate is the overestimate of the extent of the agricultural distress itself. If the farmers were (in large numbers) anything like as badly off as they have been represented, they would have voted for Smith, not so much because of the difference between his position and Hoover's on the method of relief, but as a natural expression of intense dissatisfaction with the party that has been in power and that has failed to give them relief.

Governor Smith's other issues were still more completely ignored by the electorate generally. It is not pleasant to recognize, but it is none the less true, that issues of principle not coming directly home to the immediate interests or predilections of great masses of people seem in our time to have but very little influence upon the vote in an exciting Presidential campaign. A considerable number of thinking people were doubtless impressed by Governor Smith's declarations and arguments on water-power control and Government reorganization; a considerable number were likewise interested in the subject of economy (both Hoover's claims and Smith's counter-assertions) and in the question of responsibility for the oil scandals; but it is quite evident that the part played by these elements in determining the result was almost negligible.

On Mr. Hoover's side there was, to be sure, in one sense a great issue—indeed, an overshadowing issue. But it was not in a strict sense a political issue. Prosper-

ity was the keynote of his appeal and, unlike Prohibition, it is perfectly clear what influence this issue had on the result. The country as a whole has been in the enjoyment of unbroken and unparalleled prosperity throughout the Presidency of Mr. Coolidge and no amount of argumentation, sound or unsound, can prevent such a state of things from being successfully capitalized by the party in power. As an explanation of Republican victory—not, indeed, of the full extent of the victory, but of a victory of decisive proportions—prosperity is in itself quite sufficient. This does not mean that Smith's defeat was a certainty from the beginning. It does mean that his election was possible only if some other issue or factor made an appeal in his favor as sweeping and powerful as that which prosperity made in favor of Hoover. If Prohibition could have been made a truly dominating issue, it might conceivably have played this part. But with his party hopelessly split on Prohibition, Smith knew that this was out of the question. He based his hope of election on the combination of it with other issues which he urged with equal intensity, but which turned out to have practically no potency.

#### RELIGIOUS AND PERSONAL FACTORS

But there entered into this campaign many forces not represented by any avowed issue; and of these there were two of vast sweep and potency, both centering upon the person of the Democratic candidate. Against Governor Smith was arrayed the anti-Catholic feeling, which we have always known to exist on a great scale, but of whose extent and intensity the election returns present a most impressive revelation. It is true that the manifestation of opposition to Smith as a Catholic cannot be completely discriminated from that of opposition to him as a Wet; but the evidence is nevertheless unmistakable. The phenomenal magnitude of the vote against Smith in Oklahoma, Kentucky and Maryland would, of itself, be entirely conclusive on the point; and there are other States which decisively confirm the conclusion. The population of Oklahoma and Kentucky is known to consist in large part of people thoroughly and hereditarily impregnated with anti-Catholic prejudice, and these two

normally Democratic States snowed Smith under in corresponding fashion. The case of Maryland is somewhat different; but it should be remembered that Maryland was one of the few States which were swept by the Know-Nothing Party. Her rejection of Smith by a majority unparalleled in the State can be assigned to no other cause than revived Know-nothingism, since in her case the Prohibition issue operated in Smith's favor. Maryland has, and deserves, the reputation of being the most intensely anti-Prohibition State in the Union; both parties have long found it necessary to nominate for Governor and Senator men avowedly opposed to Federal Prohibition.

But while this great force adverse to Smith was set into action by his religion, a force which might conceivably have fully counteracted it was evoked by his personality and his history. That his personal qualities and his public record made a powerful appeal to many of our most high-minded and most cultured citizens was amply attested during the campaign; but it is not this I have in mind, and of course Mr. Hoover's great humanitarian achievements and his exceptional abilities made a like appeal to as many men and women of similar type. What might have proved a force of sufficient magnitude to overcome the anti-Catholic handicap was the appeal of Governor Smith's personality, his spontaneous sympathy and the whole story of his life, to thousands of people in their humbler walks of life. It would be a mistake to suppose that the ardor of his reception by great multitudes in every section of the country had no important significance in the shape of votes. It unquestionably did have such significance; what the election showed was not that the number of these votes was not great, but only that the number of votes swayed by the other great forces was still greater. Of this it was impossible to be sure in advance; and it was because of this impossibility that there was valid reason to doubt the conclusiveness of *The Literary Digest's* poll. The absolute integrity of purpose of that poll there was never any reason to question; but it was amply evident that the classes here in question had been far from adequately represented in the poll of 1924, and there was good reason to believe that a similar inad-

equacy existed in the poll of 1928. If the popularity of Smith among the classes under-represented in the poll had been as great as there was a reasonable possibility of its being, this would have had to be allowed for by an enormous reduction of the Republican preponderance shown by that poll; and as a matter of fact, even as things turned out, the *Digest's* forecast, both in the total popular vote and in the vote of many of the States, erred very seriously in favor of Hoover as against Smith.

It ought not to be overlooked that both in the matter of religion and in the matter of personal popularity there were considerable forces acting in the opposite direction. There was not only an anti-Catholic vote, but also a Catholic vote and an anti-intolerance vote. And there was not only a great mass of Smith enthusiasts, but also a considerable mass of enthusiasts for Hoover personally and of objectors to Smith personally. But it is safe to say that these counter elements were of minor magnitude in comparison with their respective opposites.

#### PUBLIC SENTIMENT ON PROHIBITION

It has not been the purpose of this article to pass judgment on the merits of any of the issues or questions involved in the campaign, to speculate on the consequences of the election, or to point out any of the "lessons" which it may be supposed to teach. But there is one point relating to the Prohibition issue which is of such distinctive character, and which is so manifestly related to the experience of this campaign, that it demands a word in conclusion. The difficulty of ascertaining the true purport of public sentiment on any one issue, however salient, is almost always very great under our system of Presidential elections. But in the case of Prohibition, this difficulty is rendered well-nigh insuperable by the fact that here we have an issue which would naturally be a question of ordinary legislation but which, through the Eighteenth Amendment, has been made a matter of Constitutional change. The consequence is that the plea can always be made—as it has been made, with great effect, in the present instance—that a victory for the candidate who advocates a change could accomplish noth-



ing in the way of bringing it about. However great may have been the number of those whose vote was mainly determined by their feeling on the Prohibition question, there can be no doubt that this number (on both sides) would have been vastly increased if the election of Smith had meant directly what it probably would have meant in the long run. This difficulty is inherent

in the case, and will almost certainly manifest itself again whenever the Prohibition issue shall again enter into a Presidential election. Accordingly, it seems clear that all those who wish to lift that issue into a place befitting its importance should bestir themselves about some means of obtaining a genuine referendum upon it by the people.

## Causes of Governor Smith's Defeat

By JAMES CANNON JR.

BISHOP OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH;  
CHAIRMAN OF THE ANTI-SMITH DEMOCRATS

IT is my object in the following article to analyze from the standpoint of a Southern Democrat the causes which led to the election of Mr. Hoover. Writing from a somewhat negative viewpoint, I wish to emphasize the reasons why Governor Smith could not be elected.

A basal fact which cannot possibly be ignored is that for the past sixty years under normal conditions there seem to have been more Republicans than Democrats in the United States, and only when the voters of the country have been faced by some unusual outstanding issue or personality has the national Democratic Party elected its candidate for the Presidency. In seventeen Presidential elections from 1864 to 1928 the Democratic Party has won only five—including the election of Tilden—and the Republican Party has won twelve. The probabilities are therefore more than two to one against the election of a Democratic President.

The probability of the election of a Republican President in 1928 was greatly increased by the economic condition of the country. While it is true that there is a certain amount of unemployment and some depression in the coal and textile industries, and some serious agricultural problems to be solved, yet no people in any country in any age, taking the population as a whole, are better fed, better housed, better clothed, than are the people of the United States, with more money in savings banks, with more leisure time and more educational and

recreational facilities than any other people have ever had. To change the political control of the country it was necessary to convince the people that no economic evils would follow such change and that some desirable results other than economic would follow such change of control. It is probably as well to say at this point that Governor Smith and his carefully selected Chairman, Mr. John Jacob Raskob, utterly failed to convince the people that any economic advantage would follow the placing of the Democratic Party in power, even with its proposed imitative Republican protective policy, and failing in this it was absolutely necessary to emphasize other issues.

The issue of privilege and corruption which might normally have been appropriately if not effectively stressed was obliterated by the nomination of an outstanding champion of the liquor traffic—the most corrupting influence that ever polluted and debased American politics—and withal a sachem of Tammany Hall, the continuous record of which for graft and corruption has no parallel in civic life.

The spectacular dash into the mid-West agricultural country was, as the vote has proven, suicidal. The personality of the Democratic candidate, with the brand of the "sidewalks of New York" evidenced in speech and looks, made no favorable appeal to the people of that section. They positively decided that a candidate with such a background could not give as helpful,

sympathetic, cooperative consideration to their problems as could a man born in Iowa, the very heart of their country, who had been compelled by his position as Food Administrator, and later as Secretary of Commerce, to study the factors of production, transportation and consumption of food supplies. All the great agricultural States, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado, through all of which States Governor Smith passed on his agricultural campaign, overwhelmingly rejected him as a satisfactory or desirable leader for farm relief measures, or indeed for the Presidency of the United States.

It is probably accurate to say that Governor Smith analyzed correctly general political conditions and outlined and followed the only plan of campaign which held out any prospect of victory. He had secured the Democratic nomination, but he knew that it was in defiance of the openly expressed wishes of the Democracy of the South, the votes of which were absolutely essential to a Democratic victory. The delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi, unanimously or by a large majority, openly opposed the nomination of Governor Smith to the bitter end. The delegates from Louisiana were appointed by a process of hand picking, and the delegates from Kentucky and Arkansas were organized and voted with reference to the Vice Presidential ambitions of favorite sons. But notwithstanding this opposition, under ordinary circumstances the Democratic candidate could reasonably count upon the electoral votes of all these States. Governor Smith realized, however, that Cox and Davis had both received the votes of the South, and had been badly beaten. It was necessary to find more votes elsewhere than the total vote of the "Solid South."

#### SMITH'S USE OF PROHIBITION ISSUE

Governor Smith deliberately decided that Prohibition was the only issue on which he could secure enough Wet Republican votes, especially in the North and East, which, added to the votes of the "Solid South," would give him a majority of the Electoral College. With this purpose in view, Gov-

ernor Smith's procedure has been not only understanding but logical.

First the fight was made to secure the adoption of a Wet plank in the Democratic platform. This was prevented by the unyielding stand of the members of the Platform Committee from the Southern States, who positively declared that they would carry the fight on the Prohibition plank to the floor of the convention itself. The Tammany delegation desired a "harmony convention" and feared a debate on the Prohibition question on the convention floor, lest it might precipitate a bolt. Therefore the Wet plank was dropped, and the Law Enforcement plank was adopted. But after he had the nomination in his pocket, Governor Smith telegraphed to the convention that he considered it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the people to point the way for the modification of the Prohibition law, especially with the idea of giving more power to the individual States. This declaration of purpose to make the Prohibition question the outstanding issue in the campaign was made in this spectacular fashion by Governor Smith for the sole purpose of securing Wet Republican votes.

Even more spectacular emphasis was placed upon the Prohibition question by the unprecedented action of Governor Smith in selecting as Chairman of the National Democratic Committee John Jacob Raskob, Vice Chairman of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, a member of the Republican Union League Club and a voter for Coolidge in the election of 1924. Never before in the history of the Democratic Party had a Republican been selected as Chairman of the National Committee. Mr. Raskob has never until this day declared himself to be a convert to the principles of Democracy, but stated that he had accepted the position of Chairman because he saw "an opportunity of performing some constructive service by helping relieve the country of the damnable affliction of Prohibition." The selection of Mr. Raskob was deeply resented by thousands of loyal lifelong Democrats.

In his speech of acceptance Governor Smith emphasized his opposition to national Prohibition and elaborated his scheme to restore to the several States the right to determine for themselves the question of the

manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, recommending, at least by inference, adoption of State manufacture and control. Later on, at different stages of the campaign, Governor Smith, especially in his speeches at Milwaukee, Baltimore and New York, and Chairman Raskob, repeatedly in interviews in the newspapers, declared it to be Governor Smith's purpose if elected to work vigorously and persistently to secure the changes he had proposed in the Prohibition law.

As indicated above, this emphasis on Prohibition as the outstanding issue was, from Governor Smith's standpoint, both logical and vital. There was no possible chance for Governor Smith to be elected on any other issue, and this issue failed to secure the necessary votes. First, the normally Republican Prohibition States from Ohio to California flatly refused to repudiate the Prohibition policy for Governor Smith's forty-eight varieties of State Prohibition plus State manufacture and control; States like Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey refused to accept Prohibition as the dominant issue; and finally, this open, inconsiderate, shameless defiance of the position of the Dry Democrats in the South resulted in a political revolution. Governor Smith's procedure was apparently based upon the belief that Southern Democrats would surrender their convictions on a great moral question, would indeed commit moral suicide for the sake of party regularity to secure the spoils of a petty, partisan, political victory.

Faced by such a situation, men and women of the South who placed principle above party met at Asheville, N. C., and deliberately organized to preserve Southern Democracy by the election of Dry Democratic Senatorial, Congressional and State nominees and by the overwhelming defeat of the Wet Tammany candidate. It is a political tragedy that so few Southern Democratic leaders recognized the nature and extent of the revolution among the Southern people and believed to the last that party regularity would be a more potent force than moral conviction. The results in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Florida and Texas, and indeed the vote in Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas, indicate that however sincere they may have been, yet by their lack of understanding and by their

unjustifiable denunciation of anti-Smith Democrats, many of these Democratic leaders have thoroughly discredited themselves for future leadership. If the race question with its historical background could have been eliminated, the "Solid South" would have been practically a "Solid South" against Governor Smith. Governor Smith's effort to reach the Presidency by the anti-Prohibition route resulted in ignominious failure, and some of the vociferous opponents of Prohibition, like Bruce and Edwards, went down to defeat with him.

#### INJECTION OF RELIGIOUS ISSUE

Religion was another unusual issue in the campaign. Doubtless it was inevitably an issue, but it was deliberately emphasized and made one of the major issues by personages of no less prominence and authority than Chairman John Jacob Raskob and by Governor Smith himself. This deliberate, emphatic injection of Governor Smith's religion was doubtless intended to be a boldly successful effort to convert a possible liability into an actual asset, and had the matter been skillfully, one might say delicately, handled it might have prevented the loss of many voters and secured the support of others. But both Chairman Raskob and Governor Smith clumsily overshot the mark, as did their followers.

Chairman Raskob publicly declared in the secular press that in opposing Governor Smith's election "Prohibition was used as a cloak for bigotry," the real ground of opposition being that Governor Smith was a Roman Catholic. In his address at Oklahoma City Governor Smith declared that Senator Robert L. Owen and others who were openly opposing him as a "Wet Tammany candidate" were hypocrites who were drawing Tammany as a "red herring" across the trail, that the real ground of their opposition was his religion and that these men were "hypocritical, intolerant bigots." Governor Smith in his speech at Baltimore again publicly raised the religious issue and tried to brand his opponents as "intolerant bigots." These charges were taken up by Democratic speakers, by newspapers all over the country, especially in the South, and were clearly recognized by anti-Smith Democrats, who had declared at the Asheville Conference their opposition



to Governor Smith because of his Wet, Tammany record, as a desperate effort on the part of Governor Smith and Chairman Raskob to throw out a smoke screen in order to minimize, obscure and if possible obliterate from the political picture the honest, determined, justifiable opposition to Smith because of his Wet personal and official record and his lifelong, serviceable Tammany affiliations, and also to put Smith on a pedestal as a noble martyr, persecuted for his honest, lifelong belief as a Roman Catholic. Men may have been outstanding Democratic, Prohibition leaders or bitter opponents of Tammany for a generation, but all were accused of rank hypocrisy, intolerance and bigotry if they dared oppose Smith. Many of these vilifiers of Dry, anti-Tammany Protestants themselves bitterly opposed Smith before his nomination because of his Wet, Tammany relationships. Were these men hypocrites then? Did they really oppose Smith because he was a Roman Catholic and they were afraid to say so? Nay, verily, Smith and Raskob themselves issued orders to run the "red herring" of "religious intolerance" across the trail for two reasons: first, to weaken as far as possible the effect of the opposition of the Prohibition, anti-Tammany voters, especially in the South and West, and secondly, to secure votes on the ground of religious persecution, not only from Roman Catholics, but from misinformed or deceived Protestants.

Whether it is true or not that the religious issue was one of the important, if not one of the decisive factors in the campaign, certainly it was a factor. The Democratic Convention at Houston for the first time in its history was dominated very largely by the recognized bosses of the "sidewalks" of the cities, such as Olvany, the Wet, Roman Catholic Tammany boss of New York City; Frank Hague, the Wet, Roman Catholic boss of Jersey City, and George Brennan, the Wet, Roman Catholic boss of Chicago. These men not only represented Tammany Hall and the allied grafting groups or organizations in other cities which are held together by the cohesive force of public plunder, but were all aggressively Wet and all Roman Catholics. The convention nominated a Roman Catholic, and the nominee of the convention personally selected John

Jacob Raskob, a Knight of Columbus, a Chamberlain of the Pope's Household, an outstanding Roman Catholic, to be the Chairman of the National Committee. Certainly no stronger appeal could be made to secure the solid Roman Catholic vote for the Democratic nominee, or to notify the country that the Democratic Party had, like the City of New York, come under the direction and control of Roman Catholics.

#### DEFEAT AIDED BY "BIGOTRY" PLEA

It is not surprising that *The Missionary*, the official organ of the Catholic Missionary Union in Washington, should declare "that all Catholic lovers of Christ are feverishly praying for Governor Smith's success," nor is it surprising that Protestants, who were honestly opposing Governor Smith, as they would oppose any other man with the same Wet or Tammany affiliations, should resent being denounced as hypocrites and intolerant bigots by Smith and Raskob, both outstanding Roman Catholics, and should finally openly raise the question, "Are Protestants more intolerant than Smith and Raskob, their Roman Catholic accusers?" The whole question was shifted from whether a Protestant would vote for a Roman Catholic to be President of the United States to whether Protestants could be fairly denounced as "intolerant" by Smith and Raskob, holding, as they do, the intolerant views of Romanism concerning the salvation of Protestants. The sweeping encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI, issued only last January, absolutely binding upon all Romanists, including Smith and Raskob, in which the Pope flatly, unequivocally declared that all but Romanists "are strangers to the hope of Life and Salvation" was called to mind and widely quoted. It is not surprising that many men decided that they could not vote for a man to be their Chief Magistrate who, while denouncing others as "intolerant bigots," must accept the teachings of Pope Pius that all Protestant ministers and laymen "are strangers to the hope of life and salvation," that is, are lost, damned souls. This deliberate, persistent denunciation by Smith and Raskob and their followers of those opposing Governor Smith as intolerant bigots, who were hypocritically using Prohibition and Tammany as a cloak for their bigotry,

undoubtedly greatly fanned the flames of the opposition to Governor Smith and aided in his overwhelming defeat, although it also undoubtedly did secure for him the electoral vote of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Thus the two outstanding issues of Prohibition and religion, which Governor Smith deliberately injected into the campaign, not only failed to secure him sufficient support, but lost him electoral votes that normally would have certainly been his. Not only did Governor Smith fail to present any adequate reason to change the political control at this time from the Republican Party, but the country, weighing Governor Smith's personality, his proposals, his methods and his historical Tammany political affiliations, definitely and overwhelmingly repudiated the proposition to place the National

Government in the hands of the representatives of the "wet sidewalks of our cities," aided and abetted in this instance by a selfish, so-called liberal element of high society.

It was, therefore, with a sense of satisfaction and security that the majority of the people of the United States, including multiple thousands of Democrats, cast their ballots for Herbert Hoover, described by Dr. Edgar Young Mullins, President of the Baptist World Alliance, as "the world citizen, the great humanitarian, the man of world vision and world sympathies, the man whose nomination was really forced by the people and not by the politicians, the man whose personal habits, conscientious convictions and political creed on Prohibition are at harmony with his platform and on the right side."

## A Catholic View of the Election

By JOHN A. RYAN, D. D.

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THIS article represents an attempt to estimate the part played by religious antagonism in the defeat of Governor Smith. Attention will be centred upon those States which Governor Smith expected to carry but did not, and which would have assured his electoral success. The views expressed are those of the writer alone.

Probably the majority of participants in a Presidential election make their final choice of candidates on the basis of more than one issue. Their vote is determined by more than one motive. Hence the dominant motive cannot easily be identified. Indeed, the word "dominant" itself is susceptible of at least three meanings. It may indicate that consideration which is merely the most weighty of several in the voter's mind, without being alone sufficient to determine his choice; or that reason which would of itself move him to vote in a certain way, even if all the supplementary factors were absent; or that motive without which the voter would make a different choice from the one that he actually makes. In other words, the dominant mo-

tive in this sense not only is more important than all the others combined, but it impels the voter to cast his ballot for the opponent of the one for whom it would have been cast if this motive had not been present. This is the meaning which I shall attach to the phrase "dominant motive" in relation to the religious factor.

The well-known political journalist, Frederick William Wile, thinks that Governor Smith was defeated mainly through "the three P's"—Prohibition, Prejudice and Prosperity. "Prohibition, Prosperity and Protestantism" was the phrase used by Lady Astor. To these we might add a fourth "P," standing for Party. Probably the majority of the voters made their choices between the two candidates mainly, if not exclusively, on the basis of the habitual political affiliations. The existing prosperity, apparent, partial or alleged, undoubtedly was the main determinant in the support given to Hoover by thousands upon thousands who otherwise would have voted for Smith. Prohibition was likewise a considerable factor in the votes cast for Mr. Hoover. But of itself, it probably would

not account for more than a relatively small number of these ballots.

Prejudice, the second of Mr. Wile's trinity, and which he declares was probably the most potent, is wider than religious animosity. In the recent election it included snobbishness and a combination of cultural and racial intolerance. Snobbishness, in its highest (or lowest) degree, was exemplified in the case of those persons who voted against Governor Smith because they did not want to see as mistress of the White House a woman who at one time did her own housework. It is estimated that many thousands among the women voters were moved by this species of snobbishness. In a less contemptible form it determined the vote of persons who could not bear to support a candidate who is not a college graduate. Cultural and racial prejudice appeared in those speeches and publications which stressed the connection of Governor Smith with Tammany. Very few of these represented any real fear that Tammany would exert an unfavorable influence upon Governor Smith in the White House, any more than in the Executive Mansion in Albany. To a great majority of those who used or were affected by this factor, Tammany was a symbol of the rising power of an alien, non-Nordic element in our population. Governor Smith in the Presidential chair would vividly express the challenge of this element to the Nordic and Puritan ascendancy. This sort of prejudice was latent, if not conscious, in the addresses of such men as William Allen White.

#### THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR

Finally, we come to that prejudice which is based upon religious affiliation, religious feeling and religious opposition. This is what we are seeking to identify, to isolate and to evaluate among the factors responsible for the defeat of Governor Smith. Writing four days before the election, Mr. Charles Michelson, one of the most intelligent and most reliable of newspaper writers on politics, declared that if Smith were defeated it would be on account of his religion, and that were he a Protestant there would be no doubt of his election. Mr. Michelson asserted, moreover, that this judgment was shared by substantially all the political reporters who had been cov-

ering the campaign. A large proportion of the leading newspapers have expressed the same opinion since the election.

Of course, these are fallible human judgments. Are there any specific facts which present an appearance of objective evidence on behalf of the assumption that the religious factor exercised a determining influence? I think there are. Consider the vote in the following States: Connecticut, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and Wisconsin. Had 10 per cent. of those who voted for Mr. Hoover in these States cast their ballots for Governor Smith, they would have put these States in the Democratic column. Their combined vote in the Electoral College is 139. Consider now the States of Florida, Illinois and Maryland. If 15 per cent. of those who supported Mr. Hoover in these States had given their votes to Governor Smith, he would have had 43 additional electors. Combining the votes of these two groups of States with the 87 Governor Smith received, we get a total of 269, or three more than were necessary and sufficient. No one who is acquainted with the extent of religious intolerance in these States can seriously doubt that these proportions of the persons supporting Mr. Hoover were so dominated by religious considerations that they would have voted for Governor Smith if he had been a Protestant. Many persons associate religious intolerance in politics exclusively with the Southern and border States. As a matter of fact, it is intense and extensive in such Northern and Western States as those that appear in the foregoing lists. The enormous increase in the number of women voters in the rural regions throughout the country is of itself sufficient to account for the percentage of religion-determined votes which have been suggested in this paragraph.

It is my deliberate judgment that the foregoing facts, in conjunction with many others that cannot be presented here, demonstrate that without the religious factor Governor Smith would not have been defeated. At any rate, no intelligent person who rejects this judgment can deny that the religious factor was of widespread and profound importance.

How was this brought about? How did the religious factor become practically oper-



ative in the campaign? It appeared in three principal forms. The crudest and coarsest form is illustrated in the "Chamber of Horrors" which was set up at the Democratic National Headquarters just before election. This was an exhibit of pamphlets, cards and newspapers. Here are some of the titles borne by these documents: "Convent Horror, Illustrating What Will Happen to American Womanhood if Smith Is Elected"; "Traffic in Nuns"; "Three Keys to Hell"; "Rum, Romanism and Ruin"; "Thirty Reasons Why a Protestant Should Vote for Alcohol Smith." Lest any reader should conclude that "literature" of this sort would have no effect upon American voters, I call attention to the vast membership once embraced by the Ku Klux Klan. Scurrilous and indecent publications of this sort constituted the principal reading matter that was cherished and circulated by that precious band of "100 per cent. Americans."

#### CHARGES AGAINST CATHOLIC DOCTRINE

A somewhat higher, or less disreputable, method of utilizing religious animosity against Governor Smith is exemplified in a long article printed and circulated by Bishop Cannon in the closing days of the campaign. The title was: *Is Southern Protestantism More Intolerant Than Romanism?*—an irrelevant question which aptly indicates the animus and purpose of the author. The greater part of this article was either completely untrue or gravely misleading. Among the untruths were the following assertions: That according to the Catholic Church no Protestant can be saved; that according to Dr. Ryan the Government of the United States is morally obliged to profess and promote the Catholic religion; that a Catholic's religious belief "compels him not to follow his conscience, no matter what it may dictate"; that the Catholic "brands all non-Catholic marriages as adulterous and the children of such marriages as illegitimate"; that Pope Pius IX pronounced education outside of the Catholic Church, including our public school system, "a damnable heresy." The misleading statements included references to Masonry, Bible societies, the Y. M. C. A., the reception of the Papal Legate by Mayor Walker and Governor Smith, misused quotations from a

chapter contributed by me to the volume, *The State and the Church*, and characterization of two Catholic papers from which quotations were made as "official organs of the Roman Catholic Church." Just how Bishop Cannon could reconcile statements and actions of this sort with his sense of justice and decency, I am unable to imagine. If he really believed that he was stating the truth and the adequate truth, his condition of mind is a sad and disturbing reflection upon his education. However, there are thousands upon thousands of Americans whose education has been similarly neglected or perverted.

The third method of injecting religion into the campaign is illustrated by an able religious periodical, *The Christian Century*. In an editorial published on Oct. 18, 1928, this publication defends the right of Protestants to vote against Governor Smith on religious grounds; for, says the writer, "They cannot look with unconcern upon the seating of a representative of an alien culture, of a mediaeval Latin mentality, of an undemocratic hierarchy and of a foreign potentate in the great office of President of the United States." The evident intention of this sort of appeal is to emphasize and deplore the prestige which might come to the Catholic Church in America following the entrance of one of her sons into the White House. Indirect influence of this sort is apparently regarded as the exclusive prerogative of the Protestant churches. If a high class journal, which prides itself as "liberal" could conscientiously use this sort of argument, the same is probably true of thousands upon thousands of educated Protestants.

Happily, the one argument which enjoys any real plausibility received little or no attention during the campaign. That is the contention raised by Mr. Charles C. Marshall and others that danger to American institutions is latent in the Catholic doctrine of the union of Church and State. For some reason, possibly because the intolerant-minded persons retained a modicum of common sense, this fantastic and remote "menace" was not frequently exploited.

Elementary justice and gratitude demand that recognition should be made here of the splendid statements condemning relig-

ious animosity in the campaign by many prominent Americans, such as John W. Davis, Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry van Dyke, John Dewey, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Edward T. Devine and many others. These men spoke according to the noblest American traditions. In this connection, I cannot pass over the fine address, to which I had the privilege of listening, delivered by Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, and daughter of the man who for many years was the distinguished head of the Department of Greek at Johns Hopkins University. Miss Gildersleeve defended the thesis that Governor Smith was by all vital tests an educated man. In effect, her address was a most convincing rebuke to and refutation of the snobbishness referred to above as one of the factors in the campaign against Governor Smith. It was peculiarly appropriate as coming from a woman.

#### CATHOLIC CHURCH NOT IN POLITICS

In the editorial of *The Christian Century*, of which mention has already been made, it was asserted that, "The Roman Catholic Church in this campaign is in politics up to the hilt," and "The Roman Catholic Church will go to the polls almost as one man and vote for Mr. Smith." Both of these statements are false. If the assertion that the Catholic Church is in politics means anything it means that the Church as an organization, through its responsible officials, took part in the recent political campaign. That statement is directly contrary to the fact. No Bishop, I am certain, and no priest, so far as I am aware, advocated the election of Governor Smith either from the pulpit or in any other public or general or official manner. Nor did the Church go to the polls either "as one man" or in any other capacity. I have before me a considerable list of very prominent Catholics who supported Mr. Hoover and I am persuaded on the basis of the election returns that a considerable number of Catholics in more than one American city gave their votes to the Republican candidate. Several of my own friends made this choice. Concerning the attitude of the Catholic clergy during the campaign, I would submit a brief quotation from a letter written to *The New York Sun*, Oct. 20, by Ellery

Sedgwick, the editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

May I be allowed to bear public and admiring testimony to the dignity, the forbearance and the good citizenship of the Roman Catholic clergy in America? I doubt indeed whether our history affords an instance of a large and cohesive body of men who, under the bitterest provocation, have better kept their self-control and self-respect. \* \* \* This Church, quite alien to most of us, has taught us a lesson in manners and in morals. It is a commonplace of such reasonable conversation as is still conducted during this campaign that had the Catholic clergy thrown themselves into the hurly-burly after the pattern of their Methodist brothers the Republic would have rocked on its foundations.

Among the millions of Catholics who participated in the election, I venture to say that not one voted *against* Mr. Hoover. A similar statement cannot be made concerning some hundreds of thousands whose support he received. Catholics voted for Governor Smith either for party reasons, or because they regarded him as the more suitable candidate, or because they were glad to be able to vote for a fellow Catholic, or because they resented the effort to defeat him on account of his religion, or because they wished to disprove and destroy the unwritten tradition that no Catholic is fit to be or can be elected President of the United States. All these classes of Catholics believed that he was qualified for the great office which he sought; consequently they were not acting as bad citizens. Thousands of high-minded Protestants voted for Smith for these same reasons.

While I am disappointed and disillusioned on account of the injection of religious intolerance into the campaign, I am not discouraged. Nor have I the heart to attribute moral blame to the great majority of my fellow countrymen and women who voted against Governor Smith mainly or exclusively because he is a Catholic. They are inheritors of a long anti-Catholic tradition, compact of misrepresentation and falsehood. They have never had adequate opportunity to learn the facts about the Catholic Church. But I cannot feel so indulgent toward the men who have exploited religious intolerance in the campaign from their pulpits, from the platform and by the written and printed word. Most of these men know better or are culpably ignorant. If the disgraceful history of the recent campaign in

this matter is not to be repeated, there will be required a long, a comprehensive and an intensive campaign of education to enlighten those that sit in darkness.

Obviously, I am not pleased with the results of the election. As a Catholic, I cannot be expected to rejoice that some millions of my countrymen would put upon me and my co-religionists the brand of civic inferiority. As an American, I cannot feel proud that the spirit of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution is thus flaunted and violated. As a believer in personal freedom and political honesty, I cannot feel cheerful over the prospect of four more years of the arrogant, despotic and hypo-

critical domination from which we are suffering by the grace of the Anti-Saloon League. As a Democrat and a lover of justice, I cannot look with complacency upon a President-elect who, judged by his campaign addresses, believes that the economic welfare of the masses should be confided, practically without reservation, to the care of corporate business, in the naive faith that corporate business will dispense and hand down universal justice. This is industrial feudalism. Possibly it may turn out to be benevolent. In any case it will do violence to the most fundamental and valuable traditions of the America that we have known and loved.

## Religious Prejudice in the Election

By PATRICK HENRY CALLAHAN

SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLICS FAVORING PROHIBITION; CHAIRMAN OF THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE (1914-16) AND OF WAR ACTIVITIES DURING THE WORLD WAR; DECORATED WITH THE ORDER OF KNIGHT OF ST. GREGORY BY POPE PIUS XI

WITH the heat and passion of the recent political campaign now somewhat abated, I appreciate the opportunity to discuss the religious prejudice aspect of the great contest. The tremendous sweep of the Republican victory, far exceeding anything that even the most partisan forecasters had claimed, is ascribed to a number of factors operating with varying force in different parts of the country. It is difficult, not to say impossible, at least so soon after the event, to appraise with confidence the relative influence on the whole exerted by them.

Undoubtedly religious prejudice was an active influence almost everywhere. Whether it turned the tide of victory, as some think, or whether the Prohibition issue and the prosperity plea would have been sufficient to return the party in power, as others believe, it is idle to speculate. No one, I imagine, will question the general belief that hostility to Governor Smith's religion played a very important part in his defeat.

But it should be said that the feeling, while bad enough, was not so bitter, the misrepresentations were not so vicious and

the excitement was not so high pitched, as in certain local campaigns we have known. Moreover, the opposition to making religion an issue was more pronounced and more widespread, and was championed by more public agencies than ever before. Thanks to the magazines and the newspapers and to distinguished public men, I believe the people of America understand the evil of bigotry, the wrong and injustice of religious intolerance, better than they did before this campaign started.

All this shows a distinct gain in the direction of tolerance. It shows in this respect an improvement in our social relations which is far in advance of former generations when misguided and excited non-Catholics were not even disposed to let their Catholic fellow-citizens live in this country, when Catholic employes stood in fear of losing their jobs, Catholic business men their trade and Catholic lawyers and doctors their clients, because of the bitterness aroused. When we consider that intolerance had been cultivated for centuries, that it had been preached and exploited in almost every land, that its evil influence



had worked its way up through all strata of society, till it permeated history and literature and art and science, and then down again through the factories and mills, the recent campaign offers many points of encouragement.

Most notable among the encouraging features is the attitude of our leading magazines and newspapers, which have frankly opened their columns to a discussion of those points of Catholic belief and practice that bear upon civic and social relations. Ten years ago, when we were conducting the activities of the Religious Prejudice Commission, which dealt only with such questions, the editors and newspaper men, while according to me every courtesy and consideration were not willing to open their columns to these questions, considering them controversial. It is gratifying to note the change of opinion on that point, come about along with, if not as a result of, the recent campaign. Such questions are now regarded as educational rather than controversial, and if writers try to handle them from the educational standpoint there is no end to the good that can be accomplished toward cultivating better relations among citizens through a frank and intelligent discussion in our newspapers and magazines.

#### DESIRE TO BE FAIR

Any one reading the articles and letters on the religious question which have appeared in the press during the past several months must have been impressed by the temper of the writings. Of course, there was much crass ignorance and downright intolerance in much of the writing; but there was a good deal of earnest desire to be fair. Even where non-Catholics undertook to dispute with well informed Catholics as to what Catholics believe, their approach to the matter was decent, in spite of the absurdity of their assuming to know better than Catholics themselves the points of Catholic belief. But the passion and temper must be got rid of first, before the most patent absurdity can be seen. A long step in this direction marks the recent campaign.

There is no hope of eliminating religious prejudice so long as human nature is what it is, harboring its likes and dislikes, its

tastes and preferences, but just as human society has rid itself by slow stages of trial by combat, the duel and many other barbarities, just as the social amenities of the present day are far removed from those of pioneer and frontier days in this country, we ought to strive for greater refinements with each generation and thus rid ourselves of the intemperance of expression and tolerance of attitude which for so long marked our differences of opinion, particularly in regard to religion. There is distinctive evidence of advancement in this respect in the late campaign.

Of course, there were still a number of absurdities exploited during the heat of the campaign, such as the fake Knights of Columbus oath, the preposterous claim that Catholics do not believe Protestant marriages are valid, the talk about closing the public schools and such foolishness as the Pope coming to America, to mention only a few. During the heat of the campaign, when excitement was high and the currents of passion running strong, any refutation of these ridiculous ideas was ineffective. The great trouble has been in the past that the exposure of such false notions has never been a point of interest to our magazines and newspapers, our chief disinterested channels to public opinion. In consequence, many unfounded beliefs and suspicions among neighbors, on account of their differences of religious belief, have been allowed to germinate through the years, only to be brought out in the open when passion was too strong for people to weigh the truth with judicious minds. From the new attitude disclosed during the recent campaign we have reason to believe that the day of taboo on the discussion of those points of religious belief which affect our common life in society is gone forever. That, to my mind, is an immeasurable gain.

During our work on the Religious Prejudice Commission, just before the World War, we found that perhaps the most intense point of prejudice at that time in our country was in the State of Georgia, where the anti-Catholic forces had a gifted and brilliant leader. Accordingly, it was decided to make an experiment of the Georgia situation and an organization of Catholic laymen was formed in that State with the object of employing the channels of publici-

ty, particularly the press, "to bring about a friendlier feeling among all citizens irrespective of creed." That organization has been active in Georgia and throughout the South for a number of years. The result of the recent election is a comment on its work. In Georgia and all the South contiguous, with the single exception of Florida, which in recent years has completely changed in the character of its population, there was no conspicuous defection on account of religious prejudice, and even in these States it is impossible to determine where the anti-liquor feeling ceased and the anti-Catholic feeling began. To those who are interested in the improvement of our social relations, this seems to suggest a further consideration of the Georgia Catholic laymen's plan of operation, which was commended by Cardinal Hayes in his welcome address to the Catholic editors of the United States in New York last May.

#### SITUATION IN THE SOUTH

We have heard a great deal about anti-Catholic prejudice in the South. The outcome of the election in the deep South, of which Georgia prides itself on being "the Empire State," should give pause to those who have been accustomed to believe that religious prejudice prevailed in the South more than in other sections of our country. Those Southern States where Catholics are less than 1 per cent. of the population were not swept off their feet by the appeal to religious prejudice in the matter of Governor Smith's Catholicism, but gave their votes to the Catholic candidate.

In considering prejudices we must remember that prejudice is of many kinds—political, racial, social, economic and so forth. It very often happens that intermingling prejudices when excited tend to neutralize one another, as certain kinds of poisons, properly mixed, make a wholesome beverage. In the beginning of the recent

campaign it was my thought that perhaps the rather deep-seated prejudices between the Wets and the Drys would tend to overshadow the prejudice which the nomination of a Catholic for President was expected to excite. I still believe that Prohibition was the main issue, notwithstanding the fact that it was beclouded by other extraneous matters, the chief of which was that which concerned the religion of one of the candidates.

As nearly as one can at the present time survey the results of the campaign, however we may regret the feelings aroused during the course of it, it is my opinion that the candidacy of the Governor of New York has on the whole been beneficent for the American people; and if Americans of Catholic belief will but take advantage of the publicity forced upon them by the recent campaign, and by a wide participation in public affairs manifest before their fellow-citizens the high standards of Catholic life, they can do wonders in showing to non-Catholics that what they imagine Catholics believe is as hateful to us as it is to them, and the ultimate result will be a greater respect for Catholics in the United States than they have ever enjoyed.

The American people can but respect the Catholics for their commendable attitude during the recent campaign. With a few exceptions that attitude has been most correct. Already expressions of appreciation on this point have appeared from sources that are the most influential in molding public opinion. To those who, like myself, have for many years advocated acceptance of Prohibition as the normal condition of society in an age and a country like ours, the Democratic nominee was at a disadvantage from the start, but I think that his nomination and the campaign which he conducted are an episode in the history of our nation which the whole people will surely look back upon with satisfaction rather than regret.



# Robert Lansing's Record as Secretary of State

By LESTER H. WOOLSEY

Robert Lansing, whose work as Secretary of State is surveyed in the article printed below, was born at Watertown, N. Y., on Oct. 17, 1864, and, after graduating from Amherst and being admitted to the bar, began the practice of law with his father. He was appointed Secretary of State on June 23, 1915, and resigned on Feb. 13, 1920. His death took place on Oct. 30, 1928.

Mr. Woolsey, the author of this article, was associated with Mr. Lansing while he was Secretary of State, being Solicitor for the Department of State and Technical Delegate to the Peace Conference, and after Mr. Lansing's resignation was his law partner in Washington until his death.

MR. LANSING was a fitting successor to John Bassett Moore, whom he followed as counselor for the Department of State in the Spring of 1914. Since 1892 he had appeared as associate counsel, counsel or agent on behalf of the United States in a long series of international arbitrations before arbitral tribunals or mixed commissions, among which may be mentioned the Bering Sea Tribunal (1892), Alaskan Boundary Tribunal (1903), The Hague Tribunal (1910) and the Anglo-American Commission (1911). He had also acted as technical delegate of the United States in various international conferences at Washington in 1911 and 1912. He had been introduced into the atmosphere of foreign relations by John W. Foster, whose daughter he married in 1890, and who had himself been a distinguished American diplomat and Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Harrison.

Hardly had Mr. Lansing entered the Department of State when he was thrust into the maelstrom of events which nearly engulfed the world. To become the chief adviser of the Secretary of State at such a time Mr. Lansing was eminently fitted by training and experience, being well founded in the theory as well as the practice of international law and acquainted with the social amenities of diplomacy.

When the war broke out Mr. Lansing organized as an adjunct of the counselor's office the so-called "Neutrality Board," which consisted of Dr. James Brown Scott, a distinguished authority on international

law, and Captains H. S. Knapp and James S. Oliver of the navy. This board considered numerous questions involving the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents which were submitted to it by the counselor for detailed study. The complexity and number of questions arising required additional expert assistance in the counselor's office.

A large part of the questions arising during the first months of the war involved intercourse between the United States as a neutral and the various contending belligerents and the use directly or indirectly of the territory or ports of the United States by belligerent vessels or other agencies. Many of the same questions which came before Mr. Lansing as counselor remained to be handled by him when he became Secretary of State soon after the resignation of Mr. Bryan in June, 1915.

The traffic in munitions of war between the United States and the Allies early became a subject of controversy between the United States and Germany. There was no question as to the legal right of manufacturers in the United States to sell munitions to any of the belligerents, but on account of the Allied blockade this right ran only to the disadvantage of the Central Powers. On this account the German Ambassador made representations to the State Department, pointing out the essentially one-sided character of the traffic. The department declined to accede to these representations and maintained the legality of the traffic. When Mr. Lansing became Sec-



retary of State the question was revived by Austria-Hungary in a note of June 29, 1915, which questioned the legal right of a neutral to carry on trade in munitions of war. Mr. Lansing seized this opportunity to state our case plainly and to explain fully the position of the Government. Consequently, the writer made a careful study of the authorities and precedents and drew up a draft of reply which was revised and amplified by Mr. Lansing and officially approved by the President with some verbal changes which gave it a Wilsonian flavor. The note was dispatched Aug. 12, 1915, and had the desired effect, for the question was never, so far as the writer knows, seriously raised thereafter. It silenced the Americans who were sympathizing with the German contentions.

#### THE BRITISH BLOCKADE

Shortly after the war began it became evident that the Allied fleet was master of the seas. The German Navy lay rusting in port, while the Allied blockade kept all vessels, public and private, from entering or leaving German Atlantic ports. The Allies also interfered with American trade to and from neutral countries of Europe from which access to German territory was possible. At the same time they issued extensive lists of contraband which included almost every usable article. It was but a step further for the Allies to undertake the censorship of the mails to and from Europe. As a result, American vessels were unduly seized on the high seas, taken into British or Allied ports, and detained for purposes of examination. The Allies also applied various other expedients for breaking up trade which might benefit the Central Powers, such as imposing "bunkering agreements," controlling "key commodities," and publishing "black lists." The protests of American traders, their attorneys and their members in Congress flooded the department. A long and voluminous correspondence with the Allies on such interference with American trade continued from December, 1914, to the breach of relations with Germany. It is difficult to appreciate the amount of work entailed by this vexatious controversy as well as the little satisfaction to any one which resulted therefrom.

In dealing with these questions, however, Mr. Lansing always had in mind the fact that they concerned only property rights and did not involve the destruction of human lives as did the methods of the Central Powers, and he was also guided by the conviction that the United States would ultimately be driven to support the Allied cause. Feeling thus, Mr. Lansing believed that the controversy with the Allies should not be allowed to reach a point where correspondence gave place to action, and he no doubt felt that, if the United States eventually joined the Allies, she ought to be free to adopt in some measure their policies and practices.

While protests in increasing numbers from every quarter were being made to the Department of State, while American neutral rights were in its opinion being openly and flagrantly disregarded by the British, yet in the face of this embarrassing situation, which no doubt was cleverly cultivated by German sympathizers in the United States, the controversy with Great Britain became in effect a legal argument set forth in exchanges of diplomatic notes, with no important concession given by either Power. If public attention from this controversy had not been diverted by German submarine warfare, the result might have been different.

#### PLOTTING IN UNITED STATES

As the British blockade tightened, the Central Powers increased their activities in various directions, such as obtaining supplies for German cruisers, obstructing the manufacture of munitions, making the United States the basis of direct action against the British along the Canadian border and against vessels carrying supplies to the Allies. In addition, the traffic in fraudulent passports, the establishment of "passport mills" to circumvent the British blockade, and the continuous reports that the German refugee ships would one day flee and join German cruisers were sources of annoyance. At the same time both belligerents were carrying on propaganda in the United States. As a result of these activities, an extensive system of surveillance was organized which brought in reports from all sources to the Department of State. Thus, the Dr. Albert papers and

the von Igel papers were obtained; and von Papen and Boy-Ed were sent home in December, 1915, as participants, if not ring-leaders, in some of these activities. These numerous incidents cannot be related in detail, but the responsibility of determining their effect fell largely upon the Secretary of State.

So it fell to Mr. Lansing's lot in 1915 to handle the Dumba incident. Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, had employed an American named Archibald with an American passport to carry official dispatches through the blockade to the Austro-Hungarian Government. Among the dispatches were plans for instigating Hungarians employed in munitions plants to go on strike. Archibald was detained en route at Falmouth, where he was searched and the compromising papers found. Such an improper use by an Ambassador of a friendly Government of the hospitality of a neutral country was a flagrant violation of diplomatic usage and propriety which could not be brooked by the United States. Mr. Lansing confronted Dr. Dumba with the incriminating facts, which he admitted, and asked for his immediate recall Sept. 8, 1915.

#### SUBMARINE WARFARE

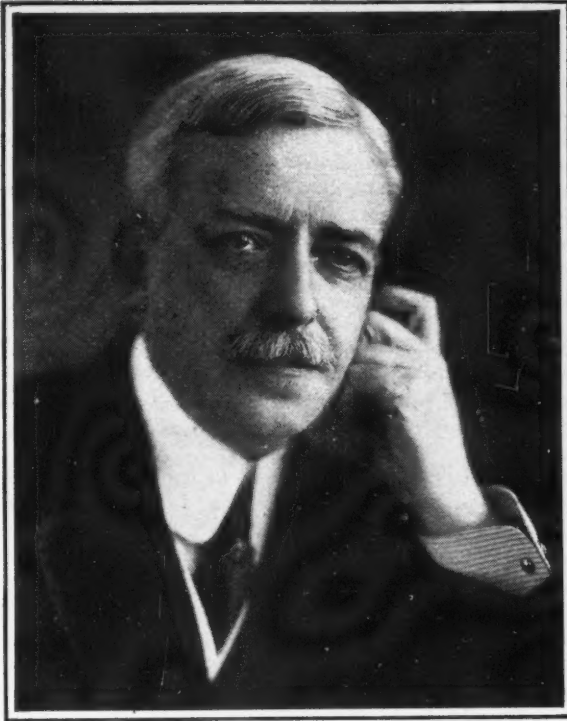
The German submarine warfare was early brought home to America. On March 28, 1915, the British steamer *Falaba* was torpedoed and one American citizen was drowned. On May 1 the American vessel *Gulflight* had been attacked and at least two Americans killed. These cases involved the same principle as the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, with a loss of 128 Americans, which gave rise to an acute controversy with Germany which resulted in the resignation of Mr. Bryan on June 9, 1915, over the terms of the proposed note to the German Government, which Mr. Bryan believed would involve the United States in the World War.

Mr. Lansing became Secretary of State *ad interim*, and in this capacity signed the note to Germany to which Mr. Bryan had objected. Two weeks later, on June 23, 1915, President Wilson offered the portfolio of Secretary of State to Mr. Lansing. Mr. Lansing thus inherited the vexatious controversies of the war. The general principles

governing neutrality and the conduct of naval warfare were well known, but it was not easy to apply these principles to the novel conditions which arose in the World War. It was necessary for the United States to assume toward the belligerents positions which were based upon substantial grounds and supported by sound reasoning, and responsibility for adopting these positions rested on the Secretary of State and the President.

If the *Lusitania* had been an American ship, it is probable that President Wilson would have appealed to Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. But the fact that the vessel was British gave the people opportunity to wonder whether Americans had a right to jeopardize peace with Germany by traveling on belligerent vessels. At any rate, public opinion in the United States was divided on the question of entering the war over the *Lusitania*, and, as a result, the United States decided to make a vigorous protest, leaving the door open to pursue a firmer course if public opinion crystallized or if Germany refused to discontinue the practice. Even as late as December, 1916, after the President's re-election, there was unquestionably a majority of the House of Representatives opposed to declaring war against Germany.

Although the President cherished the hope that the United States would not be drawn into the war, and while this was the belief of many officials, Mr. Lansing early in July, 1915, came to the conclusion that the German ambition for world domination was the real menace of the war, particularly to democratic institutions. In order to block this German ambition, he believed that the progress of the war would eventually disclose to the American people the purposes of the German Government; that German activities in the United States and in Latin America should be carefully investigated and frustrated; that the American republics to the south should be weaned from the German influences; that friendly relations with Mexico should be maintained even to the extent of recognizing the Carranza faction; that the Danish West Indies should be acquired in order to remove the possibility of Germany's obtaining a foothold in the Caribbean by conquest of Denmark or otherwise; that the United



ROBERT LANSING

Harris &amp; Ewing

States should enter the war if it should appear that Germany would become the victor; and that American public opinion must be awakened in preparation for this contingency. This outline of Mr. Lansing's views explains why the Lusitania dispute was not brought to the point of a break. It also explains why, though Americans were incensed at the British interference with commerce, the controversy was kept within the arena of debate.

The educating of American public opinion was a long and slow process, but the belligerents themselves determined the issue. While Great Britain detained American ships, cargoes and mail, Germany continued her onslaught on American lives. There was an obvious difference between the seizure of property and the destruction of human life. To await the adjustment of public feeling in the United States while maintaining the rights of this country in diplomatic correspondence with the two groups of belligerents was indeed walking the tight rope of diplomacy.

As the Lusitania discussions continued, the sinking of the Arabic occurred on Aug. 19, when two Americans were lost. Mr. Lansing took the matter up vigorously with the German Ambassador, which resulted in the following German admission of Sept. 1, 1915: "Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance." And later the Arabic incident itself was reluctantly disavowed by Germany.

Meanwhile, a similar dispute with Austria arose over the sinking of the Ancona by a submarine under the Austrian flag. Austria had not subscribed to the German restrictions and had not so far appeared as a participant in the submarine warfare. The American demands were not heeded by Austria until Mr. Lansing, with the President's approval, delivered practically an ultimatum, whereupon, on Dec. 15, 1915, Austria agreed to the American demands for a disavowal and an indemnity and

the crisis was fortunately ended. But on the next day, regardless of the declared restrictions, the Persia was sunk, Germany, Austria and Turkey all denying responsibility for it.

Ever since the sinking of the Lusitania, which the Germans charged was carrying a gun, there had been a discussion of the arming of merchant vessels as a defensive measure against submarine attacks. It was a very difficult question for the United States. What was defensive and offensive armament? Was an armed merchantman entitled to the hospitality of neutral ports? Could submarines then observe the rules of visit and search? As public opinion was still too divided to think of entering the war, Mr. Lansing felt that matters must be eased along with every effort being made to allay the situation, but to save human life. This led Mr. Lansing in January, 1916, to propose to the two belligerent groups as a *modus vivendi* that enemy merchantmen were not to be armed and that enemy submarines were to exercise visit



and search. As this was a compromise, naturally neither group of belligerents favored it, and, quite contrary to expectations, it further strained the relations of the United States with both sides. It may have led to, at any rate it was shortly followed by, the German-Austrian declaration of Feb. 10 that armed merchantmen would not be treated as peaceful vessels of commerce. Immediately Congress debated the question whether Americans should not be prohibited from traveling on enemy vessels. The President, however, felt that he could not assume such a humiliating attitude or make such a concession of neutral rights, and his attitude was the cause of the failure of Congress to enact the proposed prohibition into law. Mr. Lansing later felt that his proposal of a *modus vivendi* was a mistake for which he was largely responsible.

After long and tedious negotiations, Germany was finally brought to a more or less acceptable agreement of settlement of the Lusitania case in February, 1916, but the declaration of Feb. 10 denuded it of any credibility, and it was never concluded.

Shortly after the declaration of submarine warfare on armed vessels, ships began to be sunk in rapid succession, and among them was the French cross-Channel steamer *Sussex*, which was torpedoed on March 24, 1916, with the loss of several Americans. The attack was denied by Germany, but from the evidence collected, Mr. Lansing was convinced that the sinking was due to a German submarine. He was of the opinion that the time for writing notes had passed and he proposed an ultimatum to Germany which might result in the severance of diplomatic relations. President Wilson, however, disliked such abrupt action.

After a discussion which lasted nearly three weeks, a compromise note was agreed upon to the effect that the German Government must immediately declare its abandonment of its present method of submarine warfare or the United States would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. At the same time the President made an address to Congress on the subject, bitterly arraigning the German Government. Germany's reply of May 4, 1916, was such that the United States could ac-

cept it and avoid a break with that country, and so the *Sussex* crisis was passed with a renewed declaration on the part of Germany that merchant vessels would not be sunk without warning and without the saving of human lives, unless they attempted to escape or offer resistance.

Germany had broken her word so often that it was decided to wait and see whether time would prove that her assurances had any real value in the light of actual experience. Thus the submarine issue, including the *Lusitania* case, stood through the remainder of 1916, and until Germany again broke her word by renewing unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1, 1917.

#### PAN-AMERICANISM

The Pan-American policy of the Wilson Administration had been fairly well established by the President, Mr. Bryan and Colonel House. The idea of the Monroe Doctrine was a hand of warning held up against encroachment of the European nations, whereas the new Pan-Americanism was based upon a cooperative understanding, a partnership of the American nations. To this end Colonel House had busied himself with broaching the so-called Pan-American Treaty of mutual guarantee, and had personally held conversations with the Ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil and Chile on the subject. Article I was the heart of the treaty, as it involved a mutual guarantee which was later incorporated in Article X of the League Covenant. When Mr. Lansing became Secretary of State he gave little attention to this treaty except in respect of phraseology. He was, however, greatly interested in the doctrine of Pan-Americanism, which at that time had not been harmonized with the Government's Haitian policy or with the Monroe Doctrine. Therefore, in his address before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, which met in December, 1915, Mr. Lansing undertook to harmonize these three apparently conflicting policies. Probably the proposed treaty would have been concluded had it not been for Colonel House's second mission to Europe, the coming Presidential campaign, the entry of the United States into the war, and the President's plan for a world guarantee. However, the doctrine of Pan-Americanism had been advanced by

President Wilson and has since been confirmed by later Administrations.

#### RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

In the Summer of 1915, Mr. Lansing, pursuant to his policy, considered the recognition of a Government in Mexico for the purpose of establishing good relations with that country and incidentally to offset the German intrigues there. He believed that recognition should depend on whether a provisional government was the real agent of the people and could draw to it the physical power of the greater portion of the nation to perform its obligations at home and abroad. Mr. Wilson's policy of denying recognition to Huerta had been established before Mr. Lansing became counselor. On Aug. 20, 1914, Carranza had entered Mexico City at the head of the Constitutionalist Army in opposition to General Huerta, but he was harassed by Villistas in the north and Zapatistas in the south. In the Winter of 1914-15 and the following Spring a large part of Mexico, especially the Northern States, seethed with revolution. The whole situation was confused and constantly changing.

On June 5 President Wilson issued his statement calling on the faction leaders in Mexico to accommodate their differences and act together for the relief of their country. This effort bearing no fruit, the President and Mr. Lansing, in order to disarm Latin-American criticism, decided upon a modification of the unsuccessful ABC conference at Niagara in 1914, and invited the three Ambassadors of the ABC countries (Argentina, Brazil and Chile), together with the three senior Ministers of Latin America in Washington, to a conference for the purpose of discussing what might be done to bring relief to Mexico. The conference was opened by Mr. Lansing with the keynote of Latin-American solidarity, which immediately induced enthusiastic cooperation. While this conference was in session, the Carranzistas increased in power and clearly became the dominant faction. The main object of the United States was the recognition of some Government, which, with the moral support of this country, could pacify the country and allow the renewal of diplomatic relations. In the end the conference, at the suggestion of Mr.

Lansing, agreed to the recognition of Carranza as the head of the *de facto* Government of Mexico. Mr. Lansing was not sure that this would prove to be the best course, yet he felt at the time that it was the best that could be done and he was probably guided in this decision by his view that our relations with Mexico should at the time be determined by the growing friendship between Germany and Mexico.

Carranza, although recognized by the United States as a *de facto* Government of Mexico, was not powerful enough to control the factions along the American border. The raids across the border in the Spring of 1916 resulted in the Pershing expedition to capture Villa. This expedition, of course, wounded the pride of Carranza and ended in a long diplomatic correspondence as to the withdrawal of the American forces and the protection of the border. Mr. Lansing was convinced that the Mexican attitude was being supported by German agents, who were trying to bring about a rupture with the United States, and this convinced him that his policy of forbearance toward Mexico was the proper one. The acrimonious correspondence ended in a conciliatory note from Carranza, and a suggestion from this country that it would entertain a proposal for a commission of investigation. Carranza made this proposal, which was immediately accepted, and the Mexican crisis was passed by the middle of July. It required, indeed, calm judgment and infinite patience to bear with the insolence of the *de facto* Government and maintain a policy of peace with Mexico, which was exactly what Mr. Lansing believed the Germans did not wish.

The six members of the proposed commission were appointed and met in September, 1916, to consider the evacuation of United States troops, the matter of border protection, and the investigation and adjustment of the border raids. After laborious discussions lasting until the middle of January, 1917, the commission broke up without reaching an agreement. In substance Carranza insisted upon immediate and unconditional evacuation of American troops, while President Wilson made the withdrawal of troops conditional upon proper assurances of protection against further raids. However, the commission

had been the means of bridging over a crisis in the relations of the United States and Mexico and of avoiding war between the two countries.

#### RELATIONS WITH HAITI

Our relations with Haiti came to an acute stage in the Summer of 1915. The little republic was in a constant state of revolution. The prize was the customs receipts and the opportunity to squander them. Between August, 1911, and February, 1914, Haiti had five Presidents in a period of two and a half years, and in 1915 the revolutionary turnovers resulted in savage brutality. In the bloody revolution of July 26 the President, it is said, murdered seventy hostages and fled to the French Legation for protection, where, however, he was seized, dragged outside the gates and put to death in a horrible manner, his body being cut into pieces which were paraded through the streets. A few days later Mr. Lansing, in the absence of the President, requested the landing of a sufficient naval force at Port au Prince to insure the protection of American lives and property.

In view of rumors, steps had already been taken to prevent the republic being made the base for German submarine or other raiders on commerce. It was Mr. Lansing's policy to maintain the foothold thus gained until a stable Government should be established. The situation was regularized by the negotiation of a treaty signed on Sept. 15, 1916, which gave the United States, in effect, the authority to take such steps as were necessary to insure the complete attainment of the objects of the treaty and, if necessary, to preserve Haitian independence and maintain an adequate and stable government.

#### CESSION OF DANISH WEST INDIES

Believing that the acquisition of the Danish West Indies by the United States was important in order to forestall the possibility of their control going to a European belligerent, Mr. Lansing began negotiations in the Summer of 1915 for the purchase of the islands. Denmark refused at first to consider the proposal, but when told that in the event of their coming under control of Germany by conquest or cession the

United States would be under the necessity of occupying them at least, Denmark reluctantly agreed to begin negotiations, on condition that the United States would agree not to object to the extension of her sovereignty over the whole of Greenland. The United States acceded to this suggestion. Denmark proposed the sale of the islands for \$27,000,000, while the United States offered \$20,000,000. A compromise was reached on \$25,000,000, and the treaty of cession was signed on Aug. 4, 1916, and was approved by the Senate in the following January, only a short time before the breach of relations with Germany. A draft for \$25,000,000 was handed by Mr. Lansing to Minister Brun on March 31, 1917.

#### PEACE MOVES

Mr. Lansing's connection with President Wilson's peace moves did not begin until after his re-election in 1916. Before then these matters had been handled chiefly by the President and Colonel House, whom he had sent twice to Europe on such missions. The President appeared desirous to prolong the controversies over neutral rights in the hope of finding a means of terminating the war either through his mediation or by throwing the weight of this country in the balance with the Allies. The President's idea seems to have been to terminate the war by means of a "negotiated peace" and to obtain an agreement as to an international plan to make war impossible. After his re-election, President Wilson set to work immediately on his peace plans. Mr. Lansing collaborated with him and Colonel House in the preparation of the circular note to the belligerent Powers, asking them to state their war aims. Before this note was dispatched, the Central Powers stole a march on the President by their peace overture of Dec. 12, 1916, offering to enter into peace negotiations with the Allies. (Later von Bernstorff disclosed the peace terms which the Central Powers had in mind to propose had their peace overture been accepted.) The Wilson note was nevertheless completed over the objections of his advisers and dispatched on Dec. 18. Mr. Lansing was clearly of the opinion that the United States was drifting into the war on one side or the other on account of our acute controversies with the belligerent



groups, and particularly with the Central Powers. Naturally, after the German peace overture, the Wilson note received little favorable attention, as the Allies believed, wrongly of course, that it was a move in support of the Central Powers. The President, nevertheless, proceeded with his peace plans by preparing a message to the Senate, which was delivered on Jan. 22, 1917, ostensibly asking their advice on questions of foreign policy, but really appealing to the Allied peoples over the heads of their Governments which had not favorably received his previous note. The phrase "Peace Without Victory" in this address was objected to by Mr. Lansing and by Ambassador Page, but these objections were overruled by the President. Mr. Lansing, while understanding the President's hope that he, as head of the most powerful neutral nation, would become mediator between the two groups of belligerents, did not believe that this hope could be realized. It appears that President Wilson entertained this hope at least down to the beginning of 1917. The President's peace moves ended with the German Declaration of Feb. 1, 1917, of unrestricted submarine warfare on merchant vessels.

#### BREACH OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

On Dec. 18, 1916, Mr. Lansing with prophetic vision had stated to the press that we were on the "verge of war," which caused great excitement throughout the country. From then on, he saw in the German disregard of assurances given in the Sussex case that war was not only inevitable but imminent, and in January he prophesied the resumption of ruthless submarine warfare. So when the German Ambassador on Jan. 31 served notice on him that unrestricted submarine warfare would begin on the next day, Mr. Lansing was surprised only at the shortness of notice.

During the next few days in several conferences with the President, he argued for and urged the adoption of the policy of immediately breaking relations with Germany. The President, however, was undecided, and conferred with Colonel House, various Senators and the Cabinet before he came to a decision. Finally, on Feb. 3, in the morning, he notified Mr. Lansing of his decision to hand passports to Bernstorff and to instruct

Gerard to ask for his. He also planned to address Congress at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, while the writer was to deliver the passports at the same hour.

The next two months were a period of great anxiety and uncertainty for the Secretary of State. Immediately upon the German notice of Jan. 31 Mr. Lansing initiated steps for the protection throughout the country against possible wanton attacks of German sympathizers in case relations were broken, but even then the orders to guard the German refugee ships in American ports were too late, for by the evening of Jan. 31 nearly all the vessels had been disabled by their masters and crews. The next step to consider was how merchant vessels should be protected against attack in the submarine war zones. The convoying of merchant vessels was considered, but abandoned as unwise. After careful consideration of the legal questions involved, Mr. Lansing issued a notice on Feb. 8 that merchant vessels might arm to resist attack but that no convoy would be furnished. In order to furnish guns and gunners for this purpose, President Wilson asked Congress for legislation on the subject, which, however, failed on account of the filibuster of "a little group of willful men." However, President Wilson on March 11 ordered the Navy to supply guns and gunners to merchant vessels, and on the next day notified all nations that our vessels would resist any lawless attack on the high seas.

This action was of small moment, for on March 18 three American vessels were sunk by submarines and the question of entering the war was an imminent probability. Mr. Lansing immediately advised President Wilson that war was in his opinion a certainty, and urged calling Congress in special session for a declaration of war. After the suggestion was considered in Cabinet, Mr. Wilson issued a call for the meeting of Congress on April 2. President Wilson addressed the Congress, and in a soul-stirring speech before the whole Government of the United States there assembled requested a declaration of war against Germany. The resolution declaring a state of war was passed on April 6, 1917.

The President's address to Congress and the ensuing resolution purposely dissociated the Austro-Hungarian Government

from the German Empire, probably as a piece of strategy in an effort to drive a wedge between the members of the German alliance. There had also been pending secret negotiations through the American Embassy in Vienna with the consent of the Allies, for the purpose of attempting to arrange a separate peace with Austria-Hungary. After the declaration of war on Germany, Austria-Hungary, since she had subscribed to German submarine warfare, asked for passports for her Chargé d'Affaires on April 9. Likewise on April 20 the Turkish Government severed its diplomatic relations with this country.

#### WAR MISSIONS TO THE UNITED STATES

After the United States entered the war, the duties of the Secretary of State, who had been engaged in controversies with both groups of belligerents over neutral rights, were immediately changed. The controversies with the Central Powers were to be settled by the sword; the controversies with the Allies were for the time being swallowed up in a partnership. How wise it was that Mr. Lansing had not allowed the latter controversies to develop into untoward action.

The gratitude of the Allies for the assistance of the United States was unbounded. They immediately sent missions to this country to thank the Government for associating itself with the Allies and to confer with American authorities as to ways and means of cooperation. The immediate duty of Mr. Lansing was to facilitate the work of these missions. The British Mission arrived in Washington on April 22. It was headed by Mr. Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and composed of Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England, and other distinguished personages. The British Mission gave a startling account of the straits of the Allies in respect to ships and money, and their chief request of the United States was a supply of these articles.

The British Mission was followed two days later by the French Mission, composed of M. Viviani, former Premier of France and then Minister of Justice, together with Marshal Joffre and others. The chief request of the French Mission was for men. The French armies had been bled

white and their morale was low. Just a small detachment to be sent at once, Marshal Joffre pleaded, so that the French people might see that the Americans had come to their rescue. On May 23 the Italian Mission arrived in Washington with similar purposes; on June 17 the Belgian Mission arrived; on June 20 the Russian Mission, and on Aug. 27 the Japanese Mission; and finally the Serbian Mission arrived in the latter part of December.

These missions advised with American officials in respect of many administrative and legislative details which by an experience of three years of warfare they had mastered at home. Mr. Lansing entertained the missions collectively and individually and saw to it that the various members and their expert assistants met corresponding officials of the American Government with whom they might confer on plans for cooperation in every branch of war activity. The entertainment of and the work with these missions entailed a difficult and arduous task upon the Secretary of State and his department, but the cooperation obtained, as well as the personal acquaintance and contact thus established, were of greatest importance in carrying on the war.

#### FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

While the rest of the world was otherwise fully occupied in the Spring of 1915, Japan was busily engaged in pressing upon China her twenty-one demands, which would, if accepted, have made China a vassal State of the Island Empire. Whether Mr. Bryan's note of remonstrance of March 13, stating the position of the United States, had great effect or not, it is true that in the following April, Japan somewhat revised and softened her demands. However, they were not accepted by China until she was forced to do so by an ultimatum, when they were incorporated in a treaty. Thereupon, at Mr. Lansing's suggestion, the department despatched a note notifying Japan and China that it would not recognize any agreement impairing the treaty rights of America, the political and territorial integrity of China or the Open Door Policy.

Since 1915 China had desired to enter the war, as she felt that it would be well to have a word in the peace settlement, particularly since Japan had seized the German leased port of Tsingtau. Probably for

the same reason Japan opposed this move, although the other Allied Governments seemed to favor it. When the United States broke relations with Germany, China seized the opportunity to carry out her wish and on March 10, 1917, broke relations with Germany over indiscriminate submarine warfare, and during the first part of May, after sounding out the United States, she declared war against Germany. Mr. Lansing favored and encouraged this course on the part of China.

In order to forestall further aggression on the part of Japan, Mr. Lansing endeavored to have the Allied Powers make a declaration that they would do nothing to impair China's political and territorial integrity during the war. When the Japanese mission, headed by Viscount Ishii, visited this country, Mr. Lansing took up the matter with him. The latter thought that an announcement at that time was unnecessary, or at least it should be coupled with a recognition of Japan's "special relations" in China, as admitted in Mr. Bryan's note of March 13, 1915. Negotiations were entered into which resulted in the Lansing-Ishii exchange of notes, in which the admission of "special relations" in the Bryan note was confirmed by a recognition of Japan's "special interests" in China in exchange for an agreement not to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China or the principle of the Open Door, but, on the contrary, to oppose the acquisition "by any Government" of any rights or privileges to the contrary. When this exchange of notes became known the Chinese Government promptly protested and declared that she refused to be bound by any such agreement. Mr. Lansing, however, was of the opinion that the understanding had limited the scope of the Bryan note, and had, moreover, obtained for China's protection important declarations of policy on the part of the United States and Japan. It may be recalled that at the arms conference at Washington, Secretary Hughes and Ambassador Hanihara canceled the Lansing-Ishii agreement by exchange of notes on April 14, 1923.

#### RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

For several months before the United States entered the war there were rumors

of the efforts of Berlin to stem or counteract the pressure of the Russian hordes on the Eastern Front by insidious propaganda and secret efforts to negotiate a separate peace. This, if accomplished, would have released the German army on the Eastern Front for use on the Western Front. These rumors were followed by Russian charges that certain Russian officials were selling out for German gold and that they were even secretly hoarding food so as to influence the hungry peasants to demand an end of the war. Then came the revolution of March 12, 1917, about three weeks before the United States entered the war.

Ambassador Francis reported that the radical elements in the revolution were a menace to discipline in the Russian army and that the morale of the troops was in danger. Mr. Lansing immediately made efforts to support and encourage the new Government to remain true to the Allied cause. On March 22 the United States recognized the new Government and the next day Great Britain, France and Italy followed suit. On April 6 Mr. Lansing notified Russia of the declaration of war and sent a special message congratulating the new Government of Russia on joining the democracies arrayed against the armed autocracy of Germany.

A special diplomatic mission, headed by Mr. Root, was sent to Russia as an evidence of the good will of the United States, and ostensibly to cement the friendship for the new democracy, but really to investigate the political situation in Russia, the stability of the Provisional Government and the means of strengthening it and cooperating with it in carry on the war. A railroad commission was also sent to assist Russia in getting needed supplies across from Vladivostok where they were piling up.

During May numerous messages of encouragement and offers of assistance were sent to the new Government with a view also to their publication in both countries. The Root mission took the opportunity to make numerous addresses and speeches before councils, congresses of working men, industrial bodies and various assemblies presenting the views of the United States as to the war, and offering any assistance of the United States which might be desired. The mission continued its work in Russia into



the following July. At the same time propaganda in the form of literature and films was prepared and sent to Russia.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government had pledged the Allies that it would not make a separate peace with Germany, which action stirred up dissension among the radical elements of the revolution. Trotsky and Lenin, the latter probably in the pay of the German Government, saw their opportunity to establish a Communistic Government, and began work to overturn the Provisional Government to that end. While the American mission was in Russia, Kerensky launched an offensive at the front early in July, which finally ended in abject failure through mutiny of the soldiers, who had been worked on by Communistic agents and told to fraternize with the Germans instead of fighting them. Kerensky became Premier and dictator, but it was too late to stem the tide of demoralization among the hungry and ragged troops who simply started for home.

When the Root mission returned to the United States in August, it reported that everything in Russia was going satisfactorily and that they expected that the new Government would continue a vigorous prosecution of the war. Mr. Lansing, however, from later reports, disagreed entirely with this view and gauged his policy as to Russia on the theory that conditions there would become much worse before they became better. Therefore, it was no great surprise to him when the Bolshevik Revolution occurred in November, 1917. Thereupon the Russian Ambassador to the United States resigned his post, and any useful relations with Russia thereafter came to an end.

Germany took advantage of the situation and on Sept. 3 advanced to Riga, while Lenin and Trotsky began overtures for an armistice. The Allies protested in vain and an armistice was signed on Dec. 2. Mr. Lansing immediately took up the consideration of the problem of recognizing the unsteady Bolshevik Government and came to the conclusion as early as Dec. 7 that in view of the entire novelty of the situation and the proclaimed aims of the Bolsheviks the best and only policy was to leave them alone. This policy of non-recognition was pursued thenceforth and subsequently

received the approval of Secretary Colby in 1920 and later of Secretary Hughes.

#### LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS DURING WAR

The proposed Latin-American treaty of reciprocal guarantee had died a natural death, but President Wilson desired to obtain leadership of the neutral nations in his peace efforts after his re-election. He was disappointed, however, that the Latin-American Republics were unresponsive either to his "war aims" note of Dec. 16, 1916, or to his "Peace Without Victory" speech of the following Jan. 22. In view of this, Mr. Lansing believed that these republics would not follow the United States in breaking relations with Germany. Nevertheless, the President determined to suggest this course to them by a circular note. Cuba and Panama, however, on account of their treaty relations with the United States, alone accepted the suggestion, although several other countries expressed their willingness to do so.

There was considerable unrest being fomented in Central America, which Mr. Lansing believed was due to the activities of German agents. Certainly the Germans sought to establish submarine bases in Mexico and in South America. It was wise, therefore, to cultivate closer relations with the Latin-Americans, and Mr. Lansing, among other things, revived negotiations on the Colombian Treaty which was pigeon-holed in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

Late in March, when war was imminent, Mr. Lansing suggested that Cuba and Panama prepare for entrance into the war with this country. They both declared war on April 7. He also recommended closer relations with Costa Rica and the recognition of the Tinoco Government, but Mr. Wilson refused; and on account of the importance of the Tampico oil fields, he tried to improve the relations with the Carranza Government. At the end of April, therefore, it could be said that the course of the United States had at least the moral support of most of the Latin-American republics, with some exceptions.

#### RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Soon after the declaration of war against Germany relations were severed with Aus-

tria-Hungary, but war had not been declared. When the Supreme War Council, on which the United States was represented, considered what should be done to support the Italian campaign against Austria-Hungary, it was necessary that war should be declared by the United States against the Dual Monarchy. Therefore, it was necessary to determine wherein our rights had been seriously violated by her. Not finding any case of direct or wanton violations, we had not a very strong case against Austria-Hungary. The President then hit upon the theory that the Dual Monarchy was simply a vassal of the German Government, and on this basis requested Congress, in an address of Dec. 4, 1917, to declare war on that empire. The same theory might have led to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria, but the President regarded them merely as tools of Germany and not as yet standing in the direct path of our success in the war against her. War was declared against Austria-Hungary on Dec. 7, 1917.

It may be observed that in his address the President had indicated a desire not to dismember the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which gave great satisfaction in Vienna. Some months later, however, when the stalemate of the belligerents, and the failure of the peace overtures with Austria-Hungary were apparent, the President in his "Fourteen Points" advocated "autonomous development" for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. He did not advocate the independence of the several nationalities.

At this time occurred the exposure by the Foreign Minister of Austria of the secret peace negotiations in Switzerland. In order to answer the charges made, Clemenceau divulged a compromising letter of Emperor Karl as part of the peace conversations. This immediately barred further conversations and in order to explain the situation forced Emperor Karl into the arms of Germany with protestations of eternal loyalty.

In May, 1918, reports occurred of a military alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary by which the former obtained the control of the policies of the military establishment of the monarchy. Mr. Lansing, who for some time had entertained the belief that the Dual Monarchy should be broken up into independent States, now con-

cluded that the principle of "self-determination" should be applied so that the different nationalities might form separate States. The President approved this policy and from that time the Dual Monarchy as an integral power in Europe was doomed.

#### THE PEACE CONFERENCE

As the end of the war approached in October, 1918, and it appeared that the President planned to attend the Peace Conference, Mr. Lansing felt strongly that this would be a grave mistake. When the Armistice was actually signed, Mr. Lansing told the President of his views, to the effect that his plan to attend would be a mistake, since he then held a dominant position in the world which Mr. Lansing was afraid he would lose if he went into conference with the foreign statesmen. Nevertheless, on Nov. 18 the President announced to the press his decision to attend the Peace Conference. Mr. Lansing still thought this was a mistake and prophesied not only trouble in Paris but worse trouble in the United States.

Before the Commissioners went to Paris Mr. Lansing, believing that there should be some statement or program for the Conference, drew up various memoranda on the subject but did not give them to the President, expecting that he would be called upon to formulate a program later. Even after the Commission arrived in Paris the President submitted no program to his colleagues for their guidance and appeared to be without any definite plans as to the work of the Conference. Then Mr. Lansing submitted his memoranda to the legal advisers of the Commission and asked them to prepare a skeleton treaty covering subjects to be dealt with in the negotiations.

The American Commission to negotiate peace was composed of the President, Mr. Lansing, Colonel House, Mr. White and General Bliss. In the technical organization of the Peace Conference Clemenceau was, according to custom, elected President. The Conference then authorized the designation of a Vice-President for each of the other great Powers, and Mr. Lansing was named Vice-President of the Conference on behalf of the United States.

The work of the Conference was divided among various commissions or committees,

and Mr. Lansing, with Dr. James Brown Scott, was assigned to the Commission on "Responsibility for the War and Its Authorization." Of this Commission Mr. Lansing was chosen President. The work of the Commission was divided into an examination of questions of law involved in the responsibility for the war and for war crimes; and an examination of the facts connected with the responsibility for violations of the laws and customs of war. There were also Commissions on Reparations, League of Nations and numerous other subjects. The Commission on Responsibilities had to sift the evidence and bring in the verdict as to Germany's responsibility, which was written into the Treaty of Peace.

The directing body of the Conference was the self-constituted Council of Ten, composed of the President, the British, French and Italian Premiers, and their Secretaries or Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the two Japanese delegates with Ambassadorial rank. This Council had a membership identical with that of the Supreme War Council which controlled the armistices and their enforcement. The President and Mr. Lansing, therefore, were members of the Council of Ten. It assumed authority over the negotiations and proceedings of the Peace Conference although it was never authorized to do so by the body of delegates. Colonel House and the other members of the American Commission were not members of the Council of Ten.

It would appear from the record that Mr. Lansing's effective work at the Peace Conference was largely limited to the Commission on Responsibilities. He prepared various letters and memoranda for the President on the League of Nations, the treaty of guaranty of French integrity, and other matters, but they appear to have received

scant attention from the President. They served to bring out the points of marked disagreement between them, regarding which, as the President wrote to Mr. Lansing on Feb. 11, 1920, he felt his "reluctance and divergence of judgment." The points were the nature of the League Covenant, the treaty of guaranty regarding France, the practice of secret diplomacy at the Conference and the Shantung settlement. The views of Mr. Lansing on these subjects have been fully presented by him and it is needless to review them here. Nor is it necessary to revive the events of the consideration of the Treaty of Versailles by the Senate or the events leading up to Mr. Lansing's resignation.

#### PRIVATE LIFE

After Mr. Lansing's resignation as Secretary of State at the request of President Wilson on Feb. 13, 1920, he never again represented the United States in any capacity. In June of that year he organized a partnership with the writer, who had resigned as Solicitor for the Department of State, for the practice of law in Washington, in which Mr. Lansing remained interested until his death. In the course of this practice, Mr. Lansing had the honor to represent or advise various foreign Governments on matters of international importance. His firm acted as counsel for Chile in the Tacna-Arica Arbitration before the President of the United States; and also on behalf of the Chinese Government at the International Conference on Disarmament and Far Eastern questions. Mr. Lansing also acted as adviser for the representative of the Chinese Government at the League of Nations and for other countries, including Persia, Poland and certain Latin-American countries.





# The Danger of American Loans To Europe

By FRANCESCO NITTI

FORMER MINISTER OF THE TREASURY AND FORMER PREMIER OF ITALY

THERE is in Europe a widespread conviction that since the war America has made enormous loans to the majority of the European countries.

Many financiers and politicians regard this fact as a danger. Some of them exaggerate this danger. They believe that America, even though standing aloof from European political struggles, will exercise an increasing influence over the economic and financial life of Europe.

There is also a secret uneasiness. Many politicians do not conceal, even if they do not openly declare, their dissatisfaction. They are convinced that in consequence of the war Europe has been greatly impoverished, and America enriched in proportion to Europe's impoverishment. They are all aware that, taken as a whole, Europe has ceased to be a creditor, and has become a debtor continent.

All this is largely the fruit of a series of errors, and only partially corresponds to the truth. In the first place it is impossible to maintain that America has grown rich as a consequence of the war. War never enriches. This elementary truth, demonstrated by the great historians and thinkers of ancient Greece, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and many others some centuries before Christ, has not yet penetrated the brains of the European militarists and nationalists. War is a destroyer, not a creator.

It is, on the contrary, easy to concede that America, having had to make a great effort to provide not only for her own needs but for the needs of her Allies during the war, and for some time after, has, as a result of this effect, increased her production and in consequence strongly developed her home market. Under the pressure of necessity a nation often accomplishes great things. Necessity sharpens the mind, and want stimulates activity. *Necessitas dat intellectum*, said the Romans,

who were a great people because they were not elated with pride in the hours of victory nor cast down in the hours of sadness and the moments of defeat.

This phenomenon of *necessity driving* strong men to develop their energies is frequently met with in history. One of the greatest of the British economists of the last century, MacCulloch, has assembled substantial arguments to show how under the pressure of the war begun in 1799 and ended in 1815 England increased her production and manifested a spirit of greater enterprise and invention. All classes of society did their utmost to emerge from their state of poverty, and production gained thereby. A weak man, seeing the number of his dependents increase, is depressed and discouraged. A strong man makes this a reason for increasing his activities and often his fortunes.

This truth must be interpreted with intelligence, *cum grano salis*. A politician can never foresee what effect increased difficulties may have on a people. An economic crisis may produce a beneficial result by eliminating the weak organisms and stimulating all healthy activities. But it may also attack and weaken the healthy organisms.

The World War of 1914-1918 had the effect of weakening Europe. There were formerly twenty-five European States, and there are now thirty-five, with an equal number of customs barriers. The utilization of raw materials and human labor has on the whole declined. But the same war had the effect of cementing America's unity and stimulating her activities. The area of the United States is roughly the same as that of Europe. The only difference, and that a fundamental one, is that in Europe an equal area is inhabited by a number of men four times as great, and these men, even after the terrible lesson of the war, do nothing but keep up their divisions and

often increase them. The United States has strengthened its economic and spiritual unity.

During the war the United States allowed enormous credits to the Allies, and in particular supplied them with the products of her labor in the form of merchandise, arms and munitions. The war debts correspond, then, to concrete advantages received by the Allied States. Therefore the ridiculous and humiliating discussions of many European politicians to obtain cancellation of the war debts, and the habit of presenting America as Shylock, have been not only unworthy proceedings, but foolish ones. In the settlement of the inter-allied debts America has asked for less than she gave.

Whether in the future America will find it advisable to renounce her credits wholly or partially in order to restore the balance in Europe and put an end to the existing disputes, is a question which time will answer. In my opinion, it would be a great mistake for America to make any renunciation or even reduction which did not coincide with a true and not a specious policy of peace. She has something to gain from a state of peace. The persistence of dictatorships and the deepening of old hatreds is harmful to every one. It is permissible to sacrifice one's money to do a good action, but it is a wrong action to sacrifice a single dollar to maintain the state of suspicion and mistrust which still endures.

Since the World War America has made big loans in Europe to victors, vanquished and neutrals; she has made a great number in Canada and in Latin America. The statistics of the American Treasury give the following total foreign securities offered in the United States since 1919, i. e., since the end of the war:

Period.	No. of Issues.	Nominal Capital.	Est. Refund. to Americans.	Net Nominal Capital.
1914.	19	37,722,750	.....	37,722,750
1915.	87	833,494,614	19,500,000	813,994,614
1916.	104	1,131,080,264	7,750,000	1,123,330,264
1917.	64	718,147,450	32,000,000	686,147,450
1918.	30	29,715,000	1,600,000	28,115,000
1919.	81	813,244,700	250,920,300	562,324,400
1920.	105	636,191,357	51,000,000	585,191,357
1921.	109	675,112,963	44,105,083	631,007,880
1922.	136	828,399,284	146,121,300	682,277,984
1923.	73	495,662,100	82,000,000	413,660,100
1924.	129	1,219,541,687	201,047,945	928,493,742
1925.	156	1,329,920,750	244,540,000	1,085,380,750
1926.	214	1,318,554,850	183,895,200	1,134,659,650
1927.	265	1,592,595,760	216,882,700	1,375,713,060

These figures show that the United States

of America has made loans abroad in the nine years from 1919 to 1927 to the amount of 8,900 million dollars, and that in the two years 1916 and 1927 it has lent over 2,911 million dollars. To these figures, which express foreign securities publicly offered, must be added the loans made by corporations to private individuals and by individual Americans to individual foreigners. These loans have been made only in part to Europe. Of the 1,592 million dollars lent in 1927, 656.7 million dollars were given to Europe, 316 to Canada and Newfoundland, 433.7 to Latin America, 145 to the Far East (Australia, Japan, Netherland East Indies), and 40 million dollars to territorial possessions (Hawaii, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico). About half of the loans were made in America (Canada, Latin America) and in American possessions. It is a case of a very considerable mass of loans, widely distributed in a variety of countries.

These figures give rise to a series of observations. Do they express an actual situation? Has the money lent been derived from American investments, and to what extent? And if they are only partially derived from American investments, does the nature of these loans call for any particular caution?

It is clear that a country can permanently lend abroad only money which results from the surplus of the balance of international payments. This surplus does not exist for the United States, or at least is very small. In speaking of the balance of payments, we must, of course, take into account not only the imports and exports of goods, but all payments of every kind made or received on all kinds of claims, for debts of all descriptions. Since the war the excess of imports over exports, which had reached the maximum of 4,016 million dollars in 1919, has been steadily declining: 819 millions in 1922, 375 in 1923, 981 in 1924, 683 in 1925, 377 in 1926 and 680 in 1927. This refers to merchandise: but debits and credits of other kinds are in very different proportions.

#### BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN EUROPE'S FAVOR

Taken as a whole, the balance of payments in recent years, when it is possible to have reliable statistics, tends to incline to the debit side, or at least presents no ap-

preciable surplus. The investigations carried out in regard to this question by Ray Hall, Assistant Chief of Finance at the Department of Commerce, and Herbert Hoover, as Secretary of Commerce, have a decisive value.

We must bear in mind on the one hand what America pays abroad under many headings: freights, ocean, great lakes, and so forth, tourist expenditures, immigrant remittances, and so forth, and what America receives chiefly for war debt receipts, interests on all private investments, and so forth. Mr. Ray Hall has admirably summed up in a table the state of the balance of payments for 1927.

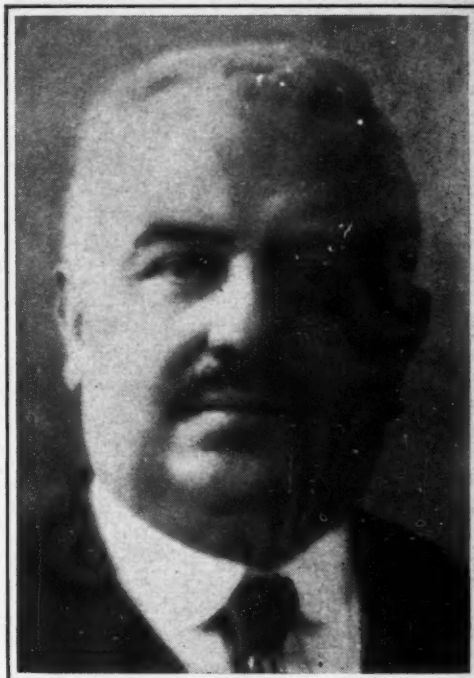
**American Cash Dealings With Foreigners During 1927: A Condensed Balance of Payments (in Millions of Dollars).**

Classes of Transactions.	Cash Claims Due From Foreigners.	Cash Claims Due to Foreigners.	Difference.
Com'dity transac'ns:			
Merchandise, silver, &c. (adjusted) .....	5,037	4,489	+ 548
Miscellaneous trans'ns:			
Freight, ocean, Great Lakes and land trans. ....	140	172	- 22
Tourist expenditures....	153	770	- 617
Ocean borne pass. traf. ....	89	...	+ 89
Int. on all priv. for. inv. (long and short term) .....	795	281	+ 514
War debt receipts.....	206	...	+ 206
Gov't trans'ns (except war debt receipts)....	57	86	- 29
Immigrant remittances	35	241	- 206
Charitable and missionary contributions ....	...	43	- 43
Other items (insurance, ch'ges, pat's, Canadian electric power, &c. ....	199	130	+ 69
	6,711	6,212	+ 499

Classes of Transactions.	Cash Claims Due From Foreigners.	Cash Claims Due to Foreigners.	Difference.
Private loans, investm'ts and dep's; New Americ'n invest. abroad (net cash)....	...	1,648	- 1,648
"Backwash"* on previous Am. inv. abr'd .....	767	...	+ 767
New for'n investm'ts in United States....	919	...	+ 919
"Backwash" on previous for'n investments in America..	...	709	- 709
Incr. or decr. in net debt of American bankers to for'ners .....	...	...	...
Balancing terms ...	1,686	2,357	- 671
Gold shipped or earmarked .....	390	224	+ 166
Discrepancy due to inaccurate figures..	...	...	- 6

\*This term includes bond redemption and sinking fund payments; also resales to foreigners of American previous holdings of foreign securities and properties.

In all, then, the United States of America in 1927 lent abroad 1,592 million dollars, but



FRANCESCO NITTI

in the same year there were foreign investments, to our knowledge, to the amount of 919 millions. Bearing in mind the distribution of the loans made by the United States of America, we find that the greater part of them has been destined for Canada and Latin America. It may therefore be reckoned that on the whole Europe has sent to America in recent years a greater amount of capital than America has sent to Europe.

Before the war the amount of long term foreign capital invested by Europe in the United States was calculated at over 5,000 million dollars. Since the war the situation has been reversed; the investments of Great Britain, which were the largest, have declined from 3,344 millions in 1911 to 1,849 millions in 1926. But almost all the European States have become debtors, though in widely varying degrees.

**WHY EUROPEAN INVESTORS PREFER AMERICA**

But in recent years the majority of the investments made by America in Europe are for a lower figure than the investments made by Europeans in America. There is,



in fact, in Europe a state of anxiety which makes investors desirous, whenever possible, of safely depositing part of their fortune. This anxiety is greatest in the countries which have passed through the war. When they can, they invest their money in Switzerland, Holland and Sweden. They prefer America above all other countries.

The investor requires two principal conditions before placing his money. The first is that there should be no danger of war or revolution. The second is that the money should be invested in securities represented by a stable currency which runs no risk of losing much or some of its value through depreciation. These conditions are absent in the greater part of Europe. In many countries there is still monetary instability. We may take it that Great Britain, Germany and France have firmly stabilized their currency and will be able to keep it stable. But conditions in Spain, Poland and Italy are very uncertain.

#### THE ITALIAN BUDGET

The Fascist Government in Italy saw fit to stabilize the lira on the gold basis roughly in the ratio of one to three and a half. It is an absurd and false ratio. Considering that France with at least three times Italy's wealth, about the same population and a good commercial balance has with an effort stabilized in about the ratio of one to five, and Belgium in the ratio of one to seven, the monetary situation created in Italy by Fascism appears a veritable absurdity. It is a piece of "bluff" which may lead to ruin. Today the budget of the Italian State shows a large deficit, and agriculture and industry are seriously threatened. The existing stabilization cannot last long, and it will be impossible to pay the internal debts at the present value of the lira. The monetary situation of the Balkans, Portugal and many smaller countries is likewise very precarious.

The other condition desired of capitalists is also lacking in Europe. No one can be assured that there will not be fresh wars or revolutions. Certainly nearly all the countries have accepted the Kellogg pact, and two or three times a year in Geneva at the League of Nations many agreeable speeches are made, in which all protest their ardent love of peace, but in which all

equally declare themselves ready to disarm *when the conditions of security exist*. But when will they exist if there is mutual suspicion?

#### INSURANCE AGAINST REVOLUTION

All these important speeches do not change two fundamental truths. The first is that despite the disarmament of Germany and the conquered countries Europe has more men under arms than before the war. The second is that she is spending, expressed in dollars, practically the same sum as in 1914: namely, in the year of the most virulent militarism and on the eve of the Great War. It would also be absurd to say that there is no danger of revolutions. Undoubtedly there is less danger than in 1919-20, i. e., the two years following the war. But there are still too many oppressed national minorities, too many dictatorships and too many irregular political régimes. A dictatorship spells war or revolution, and often both. The red dictatorship of Bolshevism is a permanent danger of war. But the white dictatorships of Italy, Poland and Hungary are also dangers of war. In the Balkans intrigue follows intrigue, just as, or even more than, on the eve of the World War. There is no example in modern history of a dictatorship which has not ended in revolution or war. A dictatorship may be necessary at a given moment; but if it becomes a stable and lasting régime it always ends in ruin.

It is clear that Europe invests far more capital in America than America invests in Europe. This is because Europe has lost confidence in herself.

America usually takes money from Europe at a low rate and lends it to Europe itself or to Latin America at a higher rate. Of the 1,592 million dollars lent by America in 1927, only 8.1 millions were lent at 4 per cent., 248.5 at 4½, and 265 at 5 per cent. But 123.6 were lent at 5½ per cent., 417 at 6, 156.9 at 6½, 267.1 at 7, 14.3 at 7½, and 14.3 at 8 per cent. America doubtless received the money at 4 or 5 per cent., or even less.

America, then, makes loans to Europeans with European money; possibly European money also goes to form a part of the loans to Canada and Latin America. America profits by the difference between the in-

terest at which she receives the money and the interest at which she lends it. An orderly country, like an orderly family, always profits from the confidence it inspires.

Wealth is not only, nor primarily, the result of material conditions but the result of the qualities of work and order and of the spirit of enterprise and discipline. Holland and Switzerland have very unfavorable natural conditions and a shortage of raw materials, and they are both rich countries; no country perhaps has more favorable natural conditions than South Russia, and it has been and continues to be a very poor country. It passed from the brutal reactionary absolutism of the Czarist régime to the brutal revolutionary system of Bolshevism. The population has been and remains apathetic.

Europe has sufficient capital to make loans to her industries, but she prefers to have the guarantee of a third party. The United States insures the European investor against the danger of political disorders and against monetary disorders, which are largely the result of the first. Europe prefers to lend to herself, but she prefers to lend through America, because in this way she feels more secure.

The idea that the loans which America makes to Europe must facilitate American exports of corn, coal, iron, petroleum, cotton, machinery, and so forth, is inexact. In fact, a proportional volume of goods exported does not correspond to an increase in the amount of the loans. This is because the loans are not in reality made by America but are made by Europe herself through America.

#### DANGER OF LOANS TO EUROPE

Gradually as Europe reduces her sources of disorder (territorial disputes, dictatorships, and so forth) she will recover self-confidence and the present state of things must sooner or later come to an end.

But the present situation should make America prudent and guarded in according loans to Europe. These loans are a danger and an error when they are made in countries which present political instability or a disordered régime. A loan to a great German, French or Belgian industry is almost without danger. But a loan to Russia, Poland or Italy is not without danger

as long as the present dictatorships endure. It may be assumed that the dollars lent will not, for the most part, be destined to the uses of production, but to luxury and military expenditure, and to the upkeep of a ridiculous monetary system which must inevitably crash.

There is also a political danger. If an obligation is to be valid it must be freely contracted. When Parliament, the right of association and meeting, and the freedom of the press have all been suppressed, it is impossible for the obligation to be of a stable nature. The irregular régimes of a dictatorship are not binding upon their successors.

#### TRANSITORY GOVERNMENTS

The Catholic Church, with its age-old experience, has a tradition which never fails. It is never willing to make permanent agreements with transitory governments, whether reactionary or revolutionary. It knows that the successors do not consider themselves bound by ties against which they were powerless to protest. There is a fundamental difference between the debts of a State and the debts of a régime.

All the obligations assumed by Italy must be met. But since June, 1928, the Constitution has been entirely abolished. Not only has the freedom of the press, of association and meeting been suppressed, but the people have been deprived of the right to vote. In fact the vote does not exist, not even for local government. The Central Government has a list of candidates for Parliament; the country is merely asked to express approval or disapproval. And what can it say? The King also has been to all intents and purposes abolished. The Fascist Party, i. e., an armed minority, according to the most recent deliberations, by means of its Grand Council, controls the succession to the throne, and the King is obliged to choose the Prime Minister from a list prepared by the Grand Council. My opinion, then, is that all the obligations contracted in America up to June, 1928, are valid and that the Italians, whatever political régime succeeds Fascism, will be bound to meet them. But I also think that all the obligations contracted after June, 1928, are invalid, because the people cannot in any way manifest their opposition. If there are

capitalists willing to lend, in these circumstances they are free to do so. But it is only right that they should run the risk. It would be a mistake to lend to Bolshevik Russia; but it is also a mistake to lend to countries with a white dictatorship, when these countries have abolished all free expressions of opinion. Any one lending money in the existing conditions to Bulgaria or Hungary knows very well the risk he is incurring.

Up to the war of 1914-1918 there were two countries in the world which made extensive loans: the United Kingdom and France. Now France is no longer in a position to accord large loans to foreign countries. For political reasons she had lent too much to Russia, the Balkan States and the East, and she has sustained great losses.

#### UNITED STATES AND BRITISH LOANS COMPARED

There are still two countries in the world which make extensive foreign loans: the United States and Great Britain. The net nominal capital lent by the United States in 1927 amounted to 1,375.7 million dollars (the nominal capital was 1,592.5). The net nominal capital lent by Great Britain was 743.3 millions. The United States lends to a great extent with European money. We have no statistical means of finding out how far the United Kingdom lends with its own money and how far with European and colonial money. But what is certain is that the United Kingdom lends today much less than before the war. The following table sets forth the investment sit-

uation in the United States and Great Britain:

Geographical distribution of foreign capital securities publicly offered in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

	United States. 1927 <sup>2</sup> .	United Kingdom <sup>1</sup> . 1913.	1927.
Europe ...	571,293,625	69,343,000	130,197,000
Canada ..	268,331,395	322,644,000	50,638,000
Latin Am.	359,229,300	242,834,000	118,284,000
Far East..	145,070,000	159,524,000	254,841,000
Africa ....	.....	38,577,000	172,185,000
U. S. ....	.....	110,804,000	1,494,000
U. S. ter't'l possession's	31,788,740	73,000	.....
Unenum'd	.....	18,138,000	15,752,000
Total ...	1,375,713,060	961,957,000	743,391,000

<sup>1</sup>Source: Finance Division Department of Commerce; figures are net nominal capital.

<sup>2</sup>Source: *The Statist*: figures are at price of issue, exclusive of all refunding issues, and are converted at the average annual cross rate of the Federal Reserve Board.

From these figures it is clear that the United Kingdom is still, though in a lesser degree, a creditor country. It is also evident that her investments in the United States of America are reduced to a negligible figure and are greatly diminished in Latin America, and very much reduced in Canada. On the contrary they have greatly increased in Europe and the Far East. This implies a different attitude and a different political economy. It is a significant fact that the United Kingdom has made scarcely any loans to Italy since the advent of the Fascista régime, and has shrewdly avoided loans in countries where the dictatorships are most dangerous.

The monetary situations which have evolved since the war are largely the effect of new political situations and changed economic situations.

Paris, October, 1928.





# What Is Insanity?

By JOSEPH JASTROW

FORMER PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

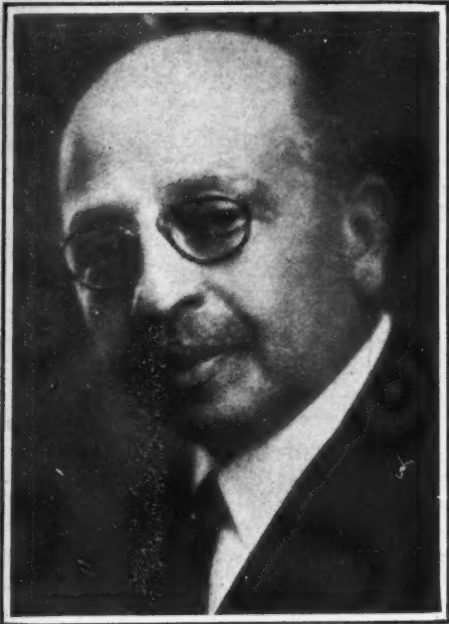
THE concept of sanity, like others that in modern days have been reformed out of semblance to their ancient parallels, has a brief history and a long disinherited line of antecedents. The loss of mind, the being beside one's self, other than one's usual self, attracts attention and demands explanation. The primitive concept of insanity, surviving in early civilizations and later, is *possession*; the insane man is as one possessed. But the primitive mind looks upon all disease in a similar way, as part of a system of thinking for which magic is the simplest name. Thus viewed, the illness that befalls a man and incapacitates him is regarded as a spell cast upon him by an enemy; he has been bewitched. Consequently, charms and amulets are worn to defend against such mishaps, and ceremonies devised to dissolve the spell by a more powerful charm. He thinks in the same way of all forces of nature, of sea and wind and mountain and forest; these also are personally animated; or the two orders, the physical and the psychical, are strangely fused. The primitive mind's reaction to the civilized man's gun recognizes it as an instrument of destruction, yet holds that if the foe is fated to die, the bullet will find its victim, however the gun is aimed or wherever the man may be. Shooting would be a psychical, as well as a physical procedure. Such thinking gives rise to beliefs in the "evil eye," in incantations, in Voodoo, and shows how universal is the rule of psychological forces and their dire reality. When the Church sanctioned exorcism as a method of removing mental spells or casting out devils, it provided a definite formula of psychiatric or mind-doctoring practice. Possession as the pervasive view of insanity, in the large cultural sweep from primitive man down to its survival at all ages, is an important antecedent of the concept of sanity-insanity, which had to be dispossessed before any more rational view of mental ills was possible.

The rival concept, which, however, did

not strike vital roots until more mature thought-habits were established, derives from the *physical* type of cause and effect that looks for the sources of behavior, including mental behavior, in the tissues of the body and their mode of working. This throws the emphasis on natural or normal behavior, and considers the varieties of human natures. The inclusive name for it is *temperament*, as something constitutional, though subject to the play of stimulation. Here is the beginning of a bodily or physical (physiological) psychology, and a psychology of character-diagnosis. When the sources of mental fitness and unfitness as well as of human variety were looked for within the body, science made a great stride, however false the early solutions.

The Greek doctrine of the temperaments is a historical monument of this principle of interpretation. The guess that the phlegm (phlegmatic) and the bile (choleric) and the black bile (melancholic) and the blood (sanguine) made people peculiarly sluggish, or irritable, or despondent, or hopeful, was an arbitrary or fanciful assignment; but the recent demonstration of a psychology ruled by the glands of internal secretion (endocrines) offers a parallel to this selection of the "humors" as the sources of behavior and its varieties and disorders. One of these terms, melancholia, we still retain in the vocabulary of mental disorder; we recognize the depression, not the "black bile." The concept that physical condition is a clue to the mind's behavior and disorders was inaugurated for all time in the doctrine of the temperaments.

The third era or contribution to the concept is far more modern, in a sense wholly so, but harks back to antecedent stages reflecting older ways of thinking. Anticipating the issue, we may give it the final name of the *psychogenic* principle, in older phrase, the influence of the mind on the body. The physical principle established the influence of bodily condition upon mental habit and behavior; the psychogenic principle shows the reverse. The two fa-



JOSEPH JASTROW

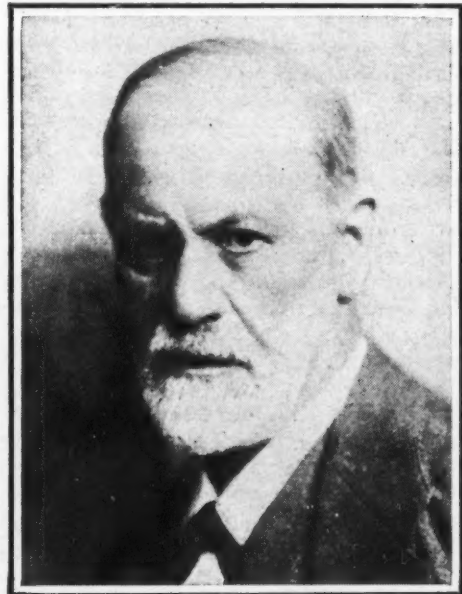
miliar mechanisms by which this type of influence is transmitted are imagination and suggestion. It was long ago recognized that all sorts of bodily ills and aches may be of mental origin or influenced by ideas; there are in this sense imaginary ills (*Le malade imaginaire* of Molière) or hypochondrias; there is the equally familiar action of suggestion both to create and to allay symptoms, its play heightened in conditions of neurotic exaltation. In terms of the *psychogenic*, the maladies attributed to possession, and particularly the wide variety of cures by charms and magic, by shrines and relics, by the king's touch and the miraculous healers, may be referred to a common principle.

The antecedent phase of it came to a head in Mesmer, who appeared at the "psychological" moment when the historical forces of reconstruction met the débâcle of the French Revolution. Mesmer attempted the revival of an ancient system of interpretation, but with his goal set toward the cure of disease. One can judge the scientific state of the time from the acceptance by the Medical Faculty of Vienna of his thesis *The Influence of the Planets on the Human Body* (1776), in which he set

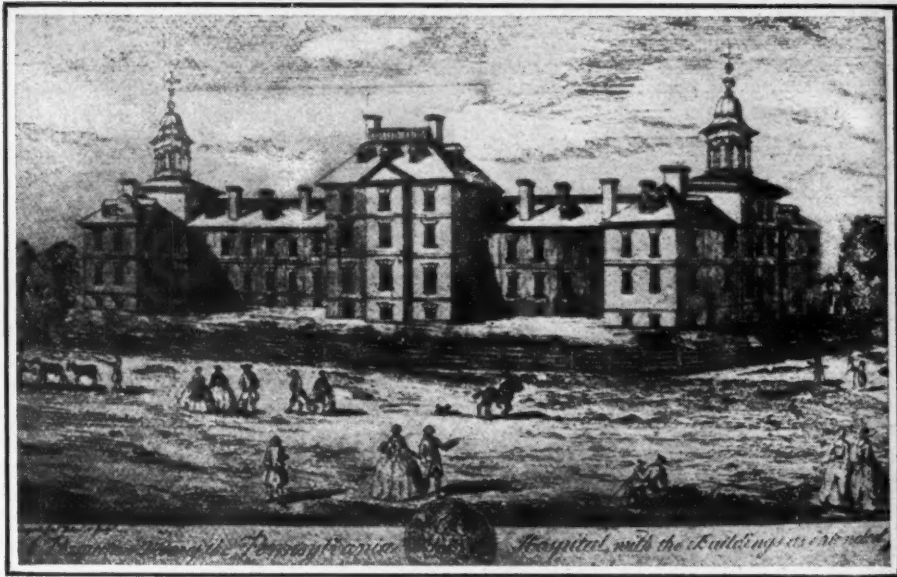
forth the doctrine of animal magnetism, an ancient belief revived in the seventeenth century. The therapeutic measures were carried out by the aid of a *baquet*, or large tub, from which projected rods conveying the "influence"—the whole representing a large battery (Leyden jar)—to throw the patients into a crisis, then to be relieved by stroking and passes at Mesmer's hands. Later he magnetized a glass of water or even a tree, and the patients received the benefit by that route. Yet these fanciful notions led to the recognition of the hypnotic state by James Braid (1843), and by several French predecessors who were aware of the true nature of that abnormal condition. Suggestion, hypnotism, hysteria, subconscious mechanisms, psycho-neuroses, psycho-analysis—all have some of their roots in this confused historical antecedent. It all forms a vivid picture of the psychogenic principle at work in the creation and removal of neurotic symptoms.

#### THE NEUROLOGICAL CONCEPT OF BEHAVIOR

I shall characterize the next composite contribution to the modern concept of sanity-insanity as the *neurological concept of behavior*. (A contribution of mine under



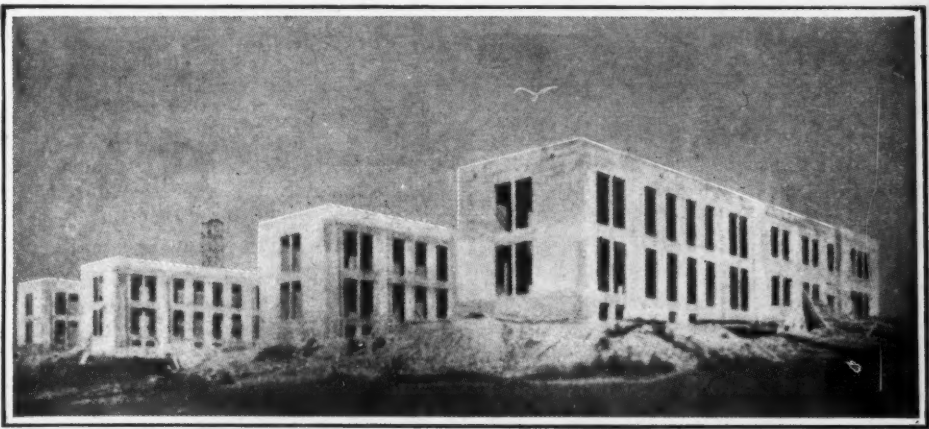
DR. SIGMUND FREUD  
psychoanalyst, now living in Vienna



Pennsylvania Hospital, 1753, the earliest building provided for the insane in the United States

that title recently appeared in *The Psychological Review*.) Before this could be developed to the point at which it bore fruit, much cultivation of the ground was necessary. The comprehensive biological view of life, including human life, culminated in the concept of evolution; all the life-sciences present a different face after Darwin. That life is a growth and an unfoldment is an ancient knowledge, but its

meaning begins with the evolutionary clue. The life of the mind was as definitely enriched and illuminated by the new concept as the understanding of living forms and bodily structure and function. The minute study of the workings of the nervous system (the first notable discovery of the distinction between sensory and motor nerve-paths in 1804) continued to supply new clues to the organization of behavior, thus



First unit of the new institution for mental defectives, under construction at Wassaic, N. Y. It is being built along the most modern lines, and when finished will house 3,000 patients



justifying the term "neurological" for the consummating phase.

If we include in the sketch the parallel humanitarian insight that ills of mind are not visitations, nor are the insane wild and dangerous beasts, we can interpret the breaking of the chains of the insane by Pinel and the formulation of mental diseases by Esquirol as part of the same movement. To complete this reform required equally a clarification of the entire concept of disease on a biological basis. Most of all, it required an extensive and minute exploration of the physiology of the nervous system, from reflex action to brain localization, to establish and mature the neurological era.

The culmination is the recognition of the *psycho-neuroses*, the last and the present stage of the concept of sanity-insanity. The Freudian approach is a formulation, a limited one, of the same combined insights, including the psychogenic principle which is its centre. Equally may the advance of the entire range of psychological knowledge, of the laboratory findings and the clinical ones, of the studies of mental growth and intelligence, of the central place of emotion and motive in the evolution of behavior, of the illuminating studies of animal and infant response, be included in giving the name of the *psycho-neurotic* concept to the present widely held views. It all converges upon the issue that the psychiatrist of today bases his diagnosis and technique upon psychological analyses.

However hasty this sketch of the stages and steps by which we have come to the present heritage of the concept of sanity and insanity, it provides the historical setting of growth and outgrowth that gives the world of ideas its unity. To indicate the present status of the concept of sanity-insanity is no simple task. The scientific refinement of a concept not only shifts its bearing and total interpretation; it analyzes and breaks into distinctive phases what is merged in the earlier, cruder view. "Insanity" divides into the several orders of the insanities, distinctive mental disorders of wide variation in type and origin; wherein they differ may be of more consequence than their common reference. "Insanity" retains only a legal meaning and a general one. The clinical view recognizes only

mental disorders; clinical and critical observation enriches experience and gives the clue to its interpretation. The dividing area between the normal and the abnormal loses its sharp boundaries; the clues to the abnormal are often found within the normal, and the variations within the normal range find their interpretation in the more pronounced issues of the abnormal. The psychologist and the psychiatrist supplement their findings, and each invades the field of the other though retaining his own perspective of interest. All this and more enters into the concept of sanity-insanity under the combined influences of the life sciences and applied practices—including the clinical and therapeutic arts. So momentous is the advance that within a generation we find ourselves thinking of sanity and insanity in wholly novel ways that reflect as they contribute to the modern illumination of human nature.

#### THE PSYCHOPATHIC ERA

Psychopathology has come into its own; this is the *psychopathic* era in the concept under review. It represents an added insight; for the physiological determination retains its fundamental place. Mental disorders are bodily realities. Let a poison, a degenerative process, an injury, a chemical change invade the tissues and affect the nervous system, and the dire results of disordered behavior ensue, however sound the original nervous system. This fact remains supreme. Some mental disorders are definitely the products of organic defect or change, partly known, partly surmised. The symptoms of the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the paretics (general paralysis), the senile dementias are of this class. When the nervous system, the brain, undergoes pathological changes or is defective to begin with, the mental functions disintegrate or fail to develop normally. The action of drugs, alcoholism included, shows the same relation. Memory, judgment, personality break down under the organic or physiological invasion. Hallucinations, delusions, flighty ideas, incoherence, depression, agitation, obsessions, violent outbreaks arise; adjusted, rational, responsible behavior becomes impossible. In other varieties of mental disorder the pathology is suspected but not known. The

manic-depressive psychoses, the dementia praecox cases may be of this variety with mental symptoms as pronounced, if more elusive and shifting, and with periods of recovery; they run as true to an abnormal picture as do the major "insanities" to which, in type of invasion and distortion of sanity, they belong.

Yet the functional disorders, the psychoneuroses — neurasthenia and hysteria, predominantly — outnumber the others clinically at least four to one; in these the method of interpretation and the technique of treatment rest upon a psychological analysis. Moreover, in these psychopathic deviations are recognized the same mechanisms, the same motivation schemes and personality composites, the same complexes, the same varieties of temperamental make-up as operate in the normal mind. Instead of a fictitious unity, "insanity" becomes an observed variety of mental disqualifications and disorders and sanity becomes a realizable ideal of mental fitness consistent with a variety of "psychic" natures and to be maintained by a proper mental hygiene. The working concept of sanity-insanity becomes a matter of assets and liabilities, both composed of many items and resources; the balance that results may find a place anywhere between the lowest and the highest grades of fitness, between idiocy and genius, and span the scale from moron to normal to superman. The survey discloses varieties of handicaps and deficits as well as capacities and talents, which in turn compose into types, yielding a mutually illuminating diagnosis for normal character and psychopathic deviation. There results a clinical picture of mental health as well as of mental disease; the rubrics are the same, the entries differ. The two insights, the two approaches pool their data; psychological medicine becomes an acceptable

because re-defined term; and psychotherapeutics, however malpracticed by pretenders and charlatans and extremists of good intention but mistaken views, offers the promise of a scientific technique.

The two influences that have been prominent in bringing this modern concept of sanity-insanity within range of the layman's interests, are the Freudian system

of interpretation and application, and the recognition of the wide prevalence of the minor mental disqualifications — the phobias and hesitations, the obsessions and compulsions, the inferiorities and maladjustments, the complexes and fixations, the extremes of temperament and fanaticisms, and particularly the origin of related deficits in the sensitive stages of childhood. These departures from normal or desirable mental attitudes abound in all circles. One could hold a psychopathic clinic in any crowded thoroughfare by inviting a free confessional for all troubled souls that pass.

And the physicians in their rounds of visits report that in almost a majority of cases, along with some bodily ailment (or in its absence), there are psychic complications that have a large influence on the course of treatment and recovery. Patients are cured but don't get well; convalescence is an art. Mental troubles are on the increase owing to the stress of life on minds unsuited to the added burden, though what has increased still more markedly and appears in the statistics, is the wide recognition of the minor psychopathic disqualifications, the little departures from normal mental health that count so heavily. Neurological handicaps are no longer so generally misinterpreted as moral defects. Delinquency and crime and the endless brands of social maladjustment are brought under a psychopathic formulation. Turn where we will in the intricacies of modern



PHILIPPE PINEL (1745-1826)  
One of the first to advocate humane treatment of the insane

life, we find the trail of the concept of mental fitness and unfitness affecting the manner in which we view the difficulties of our troubled fellow-men and the provisions we are establishing for their relief. The psychopathic insight has entered into the interpretation of the human scene and its historical unfoldment; men make history what it is, and psychological constitution makes men what they are.

The Freudian insight has a wide bearing upon what men live by and what they live for; it is an excursion into the deep psychology of motives. It calls this generic urge to live *libido* and finds its pattern (to the strict Freudians, its focus) in the sex-urge upon which life depends; the will to prevail, the desire for security, the assertion of self in the social rivalry, make the rich repertory of behavior and supply the key to its meaning. In its course there arise all sorts of mechanisms—of defense, of compensation, of rationalization, of evasion, of escape, of repression and suppression, of sublimation—that operate in the struggle and the conflict of which life consists. Extremes and untoward developments of these become complexes and fixations. So far as they all proceed within the usual limits of human strength and frailty, they merge into goals and characters and personalities that make a good adjustment, and hold their own; so far as they develop distortedly, they shape the deviations and the deficits of the unadjusted as well as the abnormal mind. Sanity consists in their wise direction and control; insanity in the lack of balance in their fusion. One need not accept—most critics do not—the whole of the Freudian version, surely not its extravagances nor yet the wide benefit of the psycho-analytic procedure—to recognize that the Freudian concepts shed light upon the workings of all sorts and conditions of minds. The incorporation of the abnormal in the view of the normal has been achieved. Humanity in all its ways and moods has become a clinic; we shall never return to the pre-Freudian way of regarding human problems.

Even more influential in bringing home

the significance of sanity and insanity to the lay mind, is the everyday contacts with the neurotic sufferers in our population. It leads to the reflection that most of us must be on the defensive against their invasion to retain our sanity, our maximum fitness of mind. We look to mental hygiene to show the way. The fears and hesitations and impediments of neurasthenia and the excesses and unbalance of hysteria claim their millions of victims, for the most part in such minor measure that they may be subdued and controlled, but at a cost. The disposition to neurosis must be detected early; the education of the child includes a program of the avoidance of neuroses. Neuroses develop upon bad mental, bad emotional habits, bad parental and social relations; they are character-deficits and in large measure may be avoided quite as successfully as sanitation and prophylaxis has cut down the toll of bodily diseases; the technique is of a wholly different order. In this secure knowledge the psychopathologist can diagnose and treat psycho-neuroses as acquired disqualifications, while yet recognizing the native disposition that invites them. His practice includes the restoration to mental fitness of the sufferers from fatigue, fear, obsessions, incapacities, inferiorities, impediments and perversions that have come with a rush into our rushing intensity of living, our mad jazzing of the dance of life. One psychiatrist makes the dismal prophecy that in the near future, if these major and minor disorders maintain their recent increase, there will be only enough "sane" people in the world to care for the "insane," and all other occupations will cease. The danger compels attention to the menace of mental unfitness.

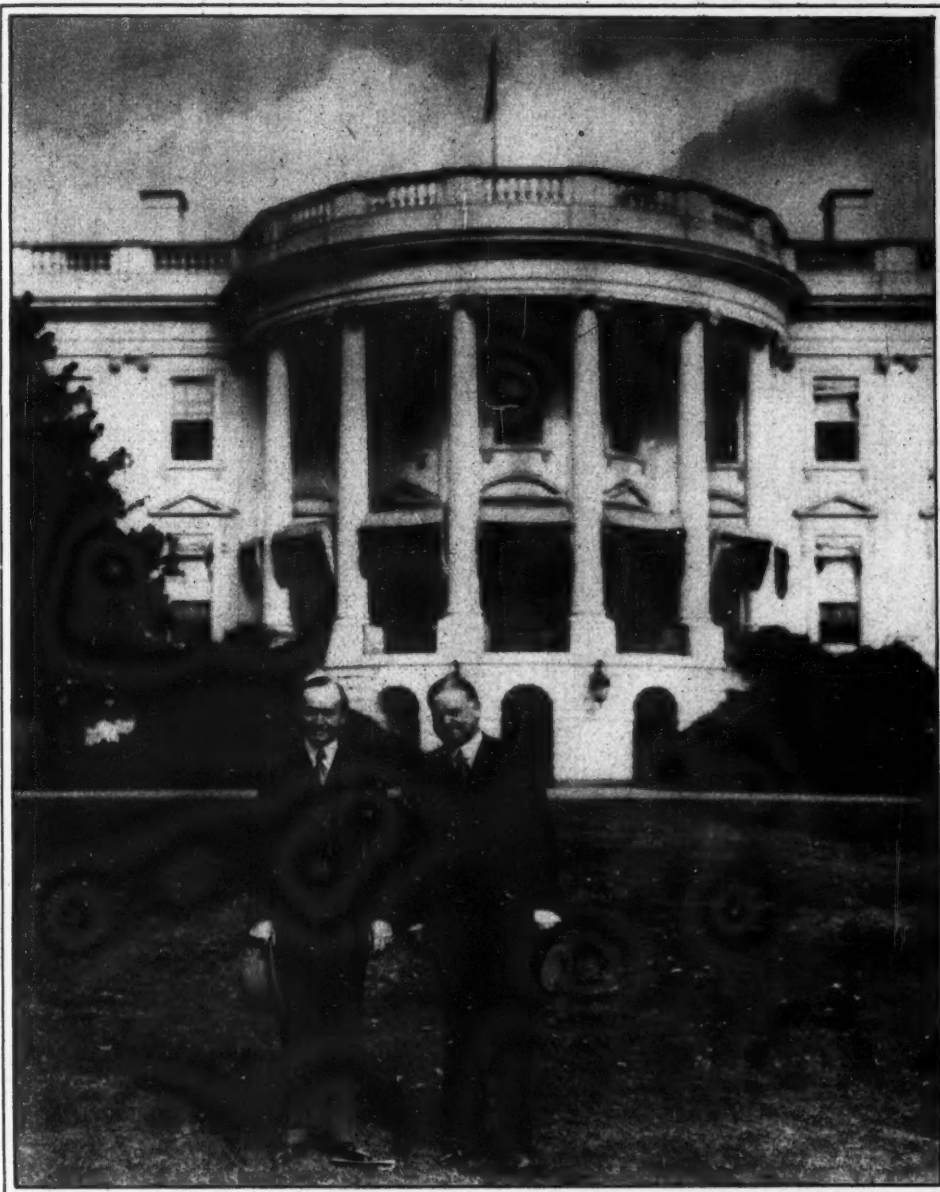
The dominant social concern for the sanity of the race and sane ways of living likewise compels attention to the nature of the insight that we at present command for the understanding of human behavior and its control. The steps by which we have reached the concepts that direct our efforts, form an interesting chapter in the story of mind in its making and unmaking.





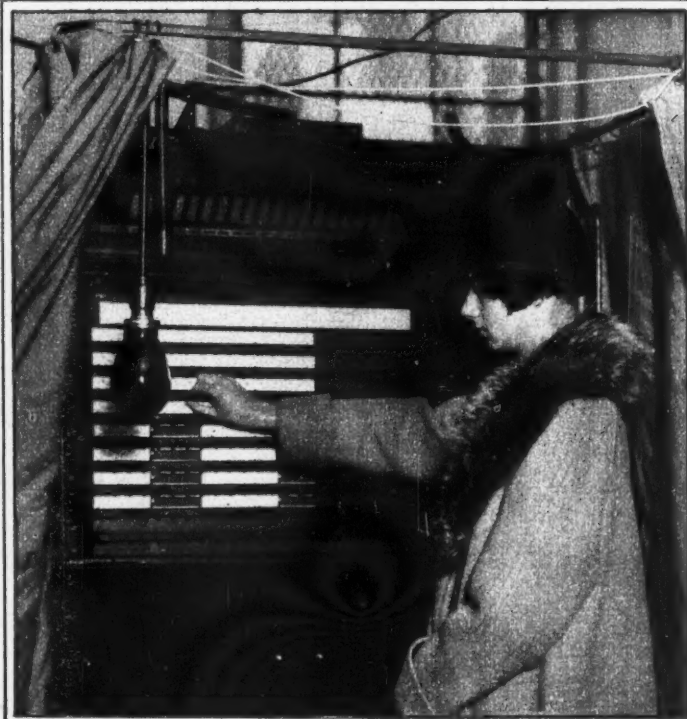
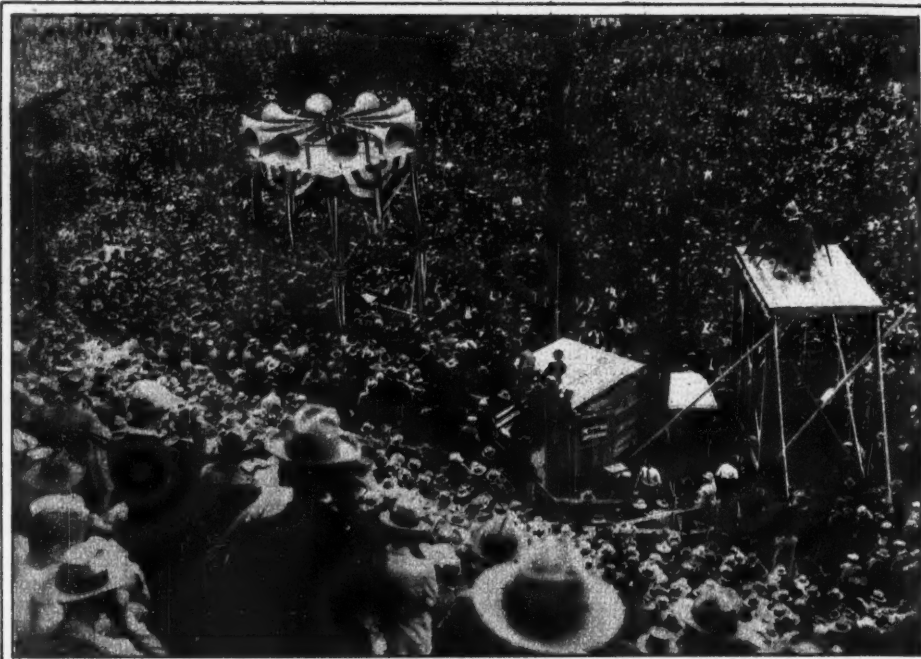
## Pictures in Rotogravure

### THE NEXT OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE



THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT-ELECT  
Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Hoover photographed in the grounds of the White House  
Acme

## MECHANICAL DEVICES IN A PRESENTDAY ELECTION



### LOUD SPEAKERS LEND THEIR AID

The meeting at  
Elizabethton,  
Tenn., attended by  
50,000 persons,  
which Mr. Hoover  
addressed, his  
voice being carried  
all over the field  
by amplifiers

Acme



IN PLACE OF  
PAPER  
BALLOTS  
One of the voting  
machines used in  
New York  
Times Wide World



## SCENES DURING GOVERNOR SMITH'S CAMPAIGN



### NEW YORK'S WELCOME

One of the scenes  
which marked  
Governor Smith's  
visit to New York  
to wind up the  
campaign.

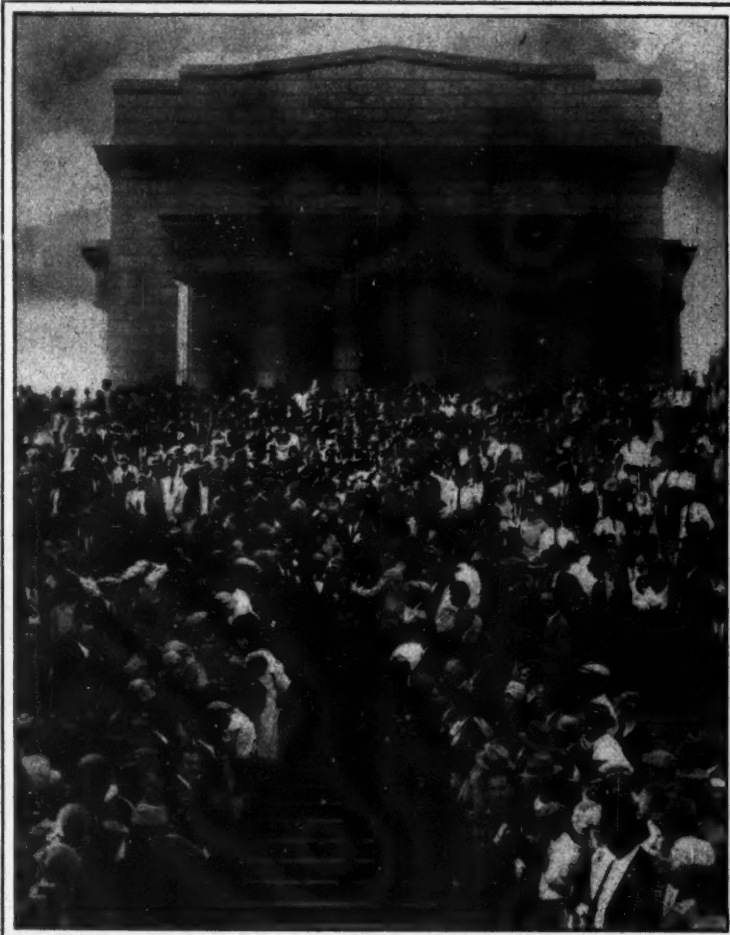
Times Wide World



### AT LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE

The Democratic  
candidate leaving  
the memorial at Hodgen-  
ville, Ky., in  
which is pre-  
served the cabin  
where Abraham  
Lincoln was  
born.

Pacific & Atlantic





## FROM GERMANY TO AMERICA AND BACK



### PASSENGERS ON THE GRAF ZEPPELIN

Some of the twenty passengers who made the trip to America, including Lady Drummond Hay, the only woman on board, having a meal in the cabin of the airship

©M.-G.-M. News & International



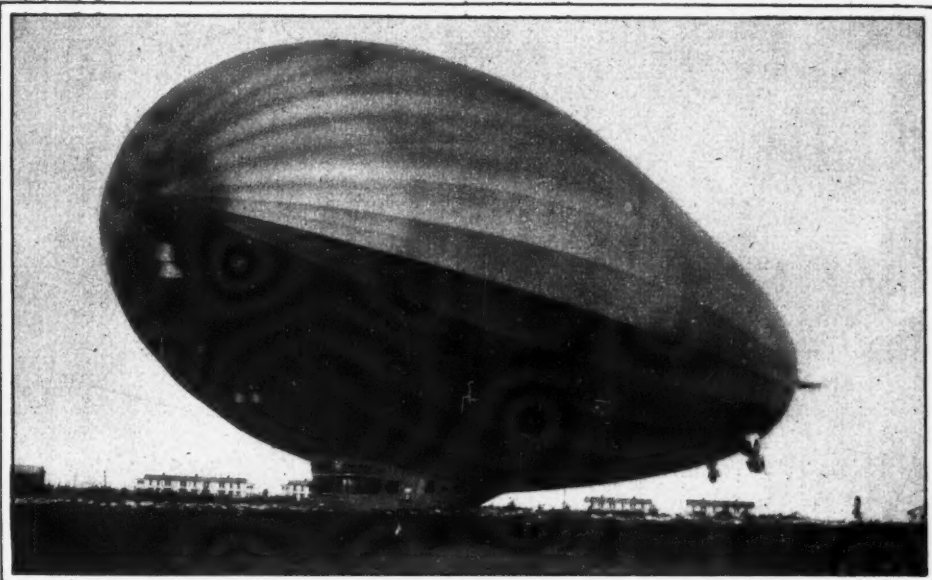
### CAPTAIN HUGO ECKENER

Designer, builder and commander of the Graf Zeppelin, who piloted the great dirigible from Germany to America and home again

Times Wide World



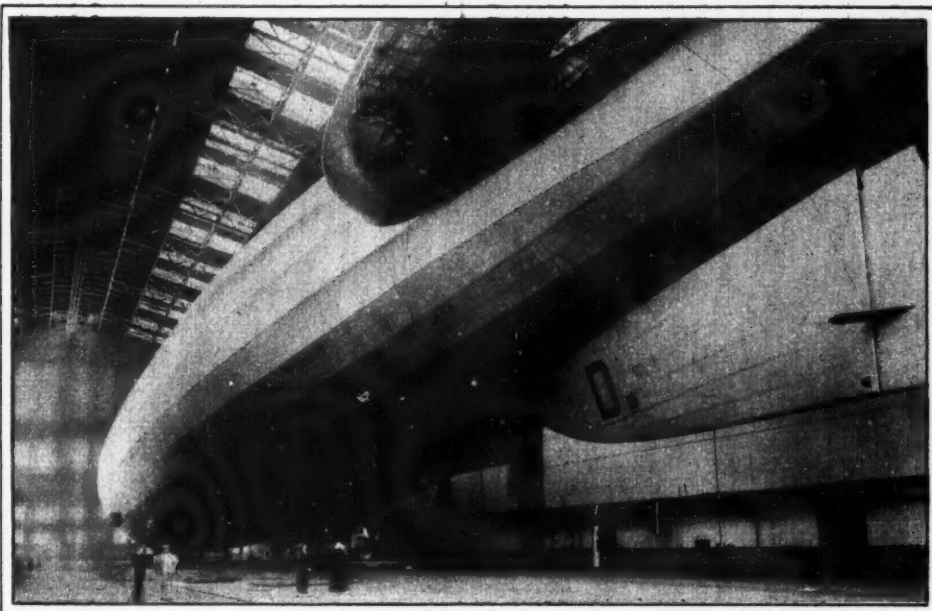
## AIRSHIP'S GREAT ROUND TRIP



### THE GRAF ZEPPELIN

As it appeared when it reached Lakehurst on its voyage from Germany

Times Wide World



### THE DAMAGED STABILIZER

A photograph showing where the port fin of the Graf Zeppelin was torn during the voyage to America

Times Wide World

## AIDS TO ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION



### SLED-DOGS FOR BYRD EXPEDITION

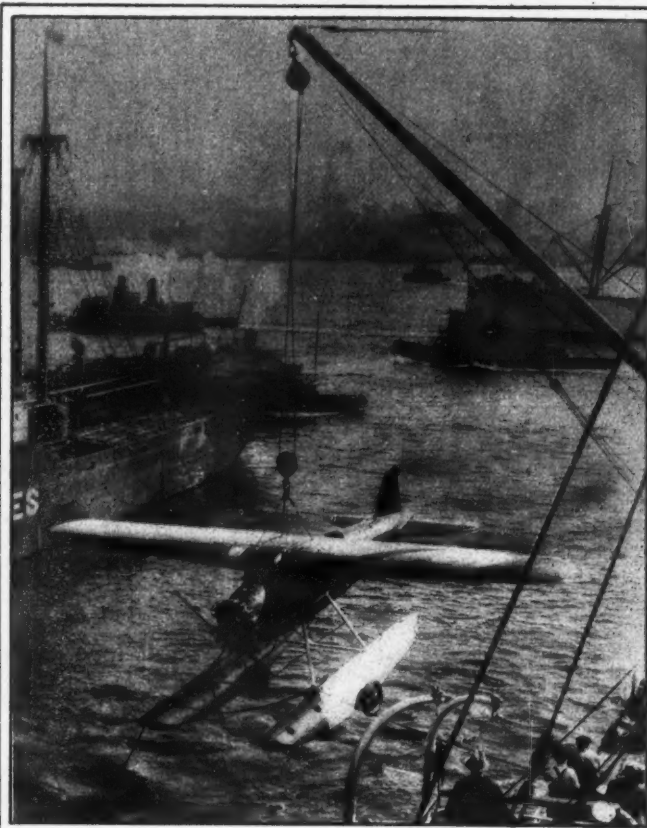
Being inspected by  
Commander Richard  
E. Byrd at the Naval  
Operating Base, Nor-  
folk, Va.

Courtesy Virginia State  
Chamber of Commerce



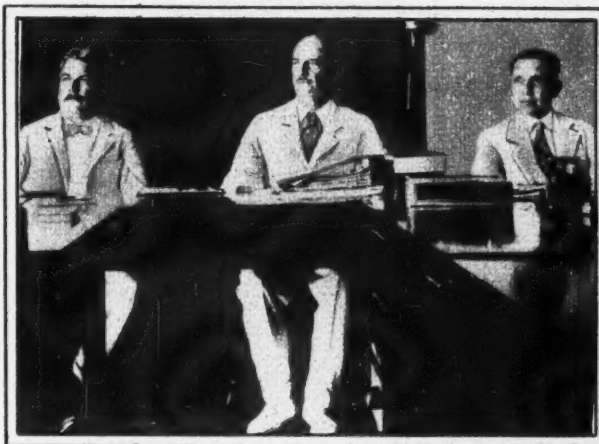
### THE WILKINS EXPEDITION

One of the airplanes  
which will be used for  
the projected flight to  
the South Pole being  
hoisted on board the  
S. S. Southern Cross,  
which also carried Sir  
G. H. Wilkins to Mon-  
tevideo, Uruguay,  
whence the expedition  
proceeds southward  
International





## NICARAGUA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



### DIRECTORS OF THE ELECTION

The National Board of Elections in session before the election. Left to right; Dr. Ramon Castillo, Conservative member; Brig. Gen. Frank McCoy of the United States Army, and Dr. Corcero Reyes, Liberal member

Acme



### GEN. JOSE MARIA MONCADA

The Liberal candidate, who was elected President of Nicaragua on Nov. 4

Acme



### AMERICAN ELECTION INSPECTORS

A detachment of marines and bluejackets leaving Leon to take charge of the polling in one of the northern districts of Nicaragua

Times Wide World

## IN LATIN AMERICA



### VETERANS OF '98

The U. S. S. Texas arriving at Havana with the United Spanish War Veterans who attended the thirtieth annual convention of the organization Times Wide World



### PERU'S STATUE OF LIBERTY

Designed by Professor Edmund Moeller of Dresden for dedication at Trujillo on Dec. 29, the anniversary of the independence of Peru



## RULERS OF TURKEY, GREECE AND ITALY



### MUSTAPHA KEMAL AS TEACHER

The Turkish President giving officials a lesson in the Latin alphabet, which is now being adopted for the Turkish language

Times Wide World



### SIGNING THE ITALO-GREEK TREATY

Premier Venizelos affixing his signature to the new treaty while Premier Mussolini stands at his side

Acme



## PICTURESQUENESS OF ROYALTY



IN HUNTING COSTUME

### CAMBODIA'S NEW KING

In his coronation dress, with golden headdress, sitting on his jeweled throne. Cambodia is a protectorate forming part of French Indo-China

Acme

King Alfonso and King Gustav at the Swedish Monarch's Summer home

Acme



### SPANISH KING IN SWEDEN

King Gustav and the Crown Prince of Sweden welcoming King Alfonso aboard the royal gondola on the latter's visit to Stockholm

International

## WEDDING OF JAPANESE HEIR-APPARENT



IN THE ROBES OF THE IMPERIAL  
ANCESTORS

Prince Chichibu with his bride, Miss  
Setsu Matsudaira, as they appeared at one  
stage of the marriage ceremonies

Times Wide World



PRINCE CHICHIBU

And his bride in modern costume  
after their marriage

Times Wide World

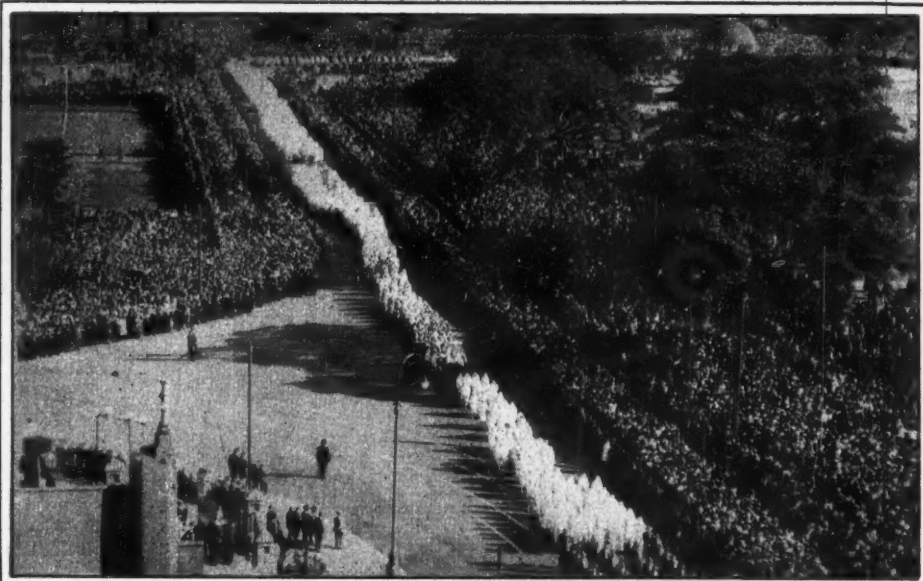


THE BRIDE AND HER COUSINS

Miss Matsudaira with some forty of her relatives at a reception in honor of her  
marriage

Tokio Asahi

## THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS IN AUSTRALIA



### GREAT PRO- CESSION IN SYDNEY

Part of the pro-  
cession that ac-  
companied the  
Papal Legate,  
carrying the Host  
to St. Mary's  
Cathedral  
Times Wide World



THE PAPAL  
LEGATE'S  
BENEDICTION  
Cardinal Cerretti  
closing the con-  
gress in Sydney  
with the benedi-  
ction which re-  
ceived world-wide  
broadcast

← International



## VETERANS OF AMERICAN LIFE



**WILLIAM HOWARD**

**TAFT**

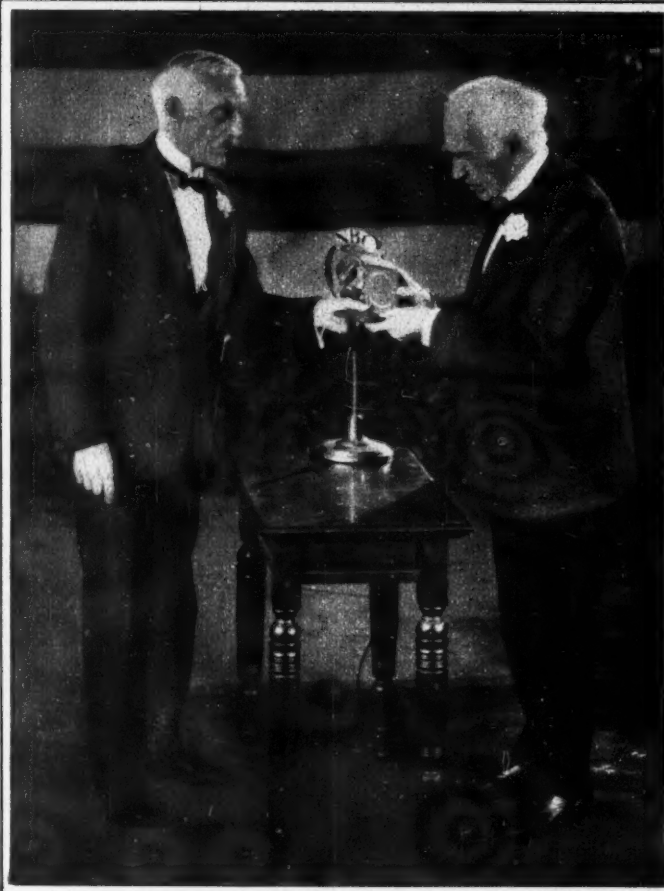
Chief Justice and former President of the United States, photographed with all his children and grandchildren shortly before his seventy-third birthday



**THOMAS A. EDISON**

Receiving from Secretary of the Treasury Mellon the gold medal voted to him by Congress for his achievements

Drew B. Peters



## MEMORIES OF TEN YEARS AGO



### THE AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION

Delegates parading through the streets of San Antonio, Texas, to be reviewed by their former commander, General Pershing, who was accompanied by Lord Allenby of the British Army

International



### GERMAN ARMY MANOEUVRES

President von Hindenburg reviewing Reichswehr troops with General von Seeckt, their former Commander-in-Chief

Times Wide World

## SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS FROM TWO ANGLES



### NEW YORK'S NEW MEDICAL CENTRE

Built at a cost of \$25,000,000 and dedicated on Oct. 12, this great group of buildings is now the world's most important centre of medical science

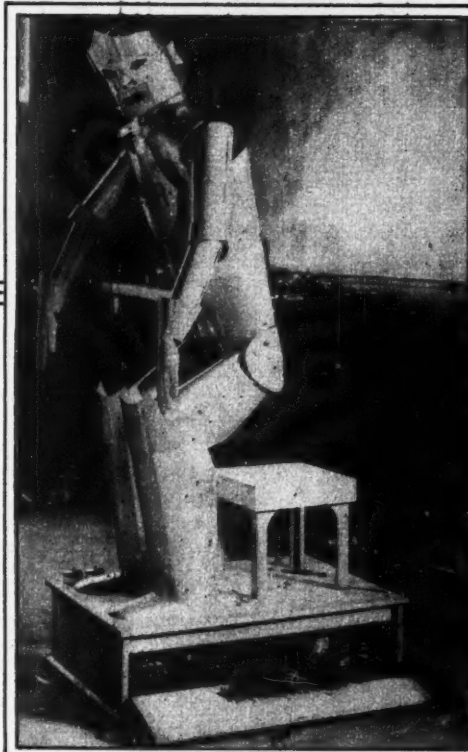
Fairchild Aerial Surveys



### A MACHINE LIKE A MAN

The invention of Captain W. H. Richards, this contrivance is shown sitting down after making a speech opening a recent exhibition of engineering models in London. Five levers connected with pulleys make the mechanism move, while the speech is transmitted by radio control arrangement

International

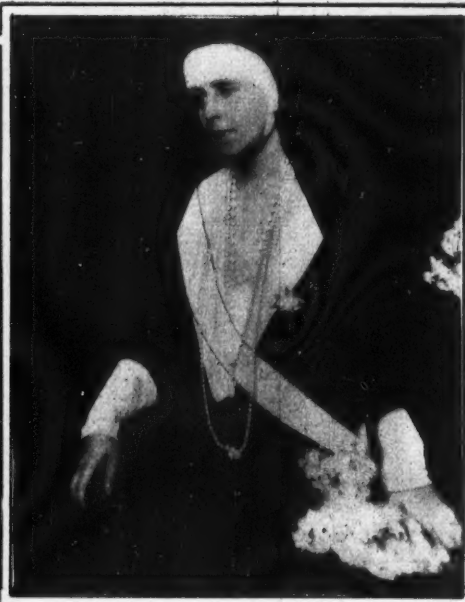




# PROMINENT IN PRESENTDAY HISTORY



**GEORGES CLEMENCEAU**  
Former French Prime Minister on  
his eighty-eighth birthday  
International



**QUEEN MARIE**  
The latest portrait of the grandmother  
of the young King of Rumania  
Underwood



**MEXI-  
CO'S NEW  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE**  
Emilio Portes Gil with his  
wife and child  
Times Wide World



**ALBERT EIN-  
STEIN**  
Convalescing at  
Luebeck, Germany,  
where he has  
been preparing a  
new scientific  
work  
Pacific & Atlantic



# Germany Regains Her Position as a European Power

By JAMES P. ROE

**I**T is ten years since the Armistice marked the end of gun fighting, and nearly nine since Germany reluctantly and sullenly signed the Versailles Treaty. In 1921, when we traveled all over Germany, almost everywhere, outside of Berlin and the occupied territory, we were the only foreigners visible. Wherever that journey led Germany was a picture of subdued, bewildered poverty. Train service was scanty, rolling stock was poor, the engines were wornout relics, and the cars, although they kept one above the rails, offered no shelter against the elements. The people and the cities were shabby and stagnant. Food was scarce and accommodations were threadbare. The streets, dimly lighted, were lined with shops empty both of buyers and merchandise. Everywhere the practice of economy was painfully evident. Houses were boarded up, factories were in ruins, and machinery was rusting from disuse and lack of care. Occasionally desperate uprisings against Germany's social, political and economic plight varied the monotony of things, but on the whole order prevailed; the people seemed to lack the energy or the desire to rebel against the thoroughness of their defeat. Germany had fallen far out of her "place in the sun."

Six years later we find that all this has been changed and that most of Germany's fundamental difficulties have been pretty well liquidated. The internal debt problem was settled through a process just short of complete repudiation; and when the old mark disappeared the great industrial and commercial concerns took advantage of the situation to wipe out their own indebtedness. The people, of course, suffered fearfully from the immediate effects of this drastic liquidation. Formerly well-to-do people were summoned to their banks to cancel their worthless accounts and to empty their safe deposit boxes of their valueless stock certificates and bonds. Those who had jewels exchanged them for bread

and those who had not were in a sorry plight. A new social order was in the making, the only difference between this situation and the similar one in Russia being that the Soviet agents confiscated the accounts and securities along with all other valuables, such as gold and precious stones.

Now Germany has shed all those losses like an encumbrance. A veil has dropped from her eyes and the imperial obsession has been dispelled. She is no longer burdened with a huge, costly, military establishment. Her economic plight, resulting from those days of hopeless liquidation, brought about the Dawes Plan and its beneficent operation. Germany is the gainer to an almost unbelievable degree by the treaty restrictions and inhibitions, the Dawes Plan regulations, and the necessity of razing the ruins of her former financial edifice and of beginning anew. The superb organization of imperial times enabled the Germans to endure and weather these post-war hardships, and their national discipline saved them when the tides of revolution surged and Allied pressure was felt everywhere in the leaderless Reich.

There has been an industrial revival in Germany during the last five years second in completeness only to that which has taken place in France. For a time, indeed, much of the old pre-war equipment had to be used in German factories and laboratories, whereas an entirely modern industrial plant was created in France. And to this extent the French have enjoyed a large measure of temporary superiority over the Germans. But now, with the aid of foreign loans and internal borrowings, the margin is fast disappearing. New factories and machinery are supplanting old equipment. German products are again competing in the markets of the world. Old German trade monopolies are being restored in the Orient, in South America and in Europe. German steel and steel manufactures are successfully competing with the British on the

Continent, and, despite rebates granted British products, even in Great Britain itself. French competitors have found it necessary to make certain concessions to save important branches of the rehabilitated French steel industry from ruin.

One of the most substantial contributions to the Reich's extraordinary industrial revival derives from the Dawes Plan reparations payments in kind. These have not only kept Germany in the world trade competition against great obstacles and despite considerable sacrifices at home, stimulating German activity in the midst of an almost universal industrial crisis, but they have actually operated to create new enterprises. The American Government's sacrifice of her huge surplus war stocks abroad affords the only contemporary parallel to the remarkable opportunity which the Allies so unwittingly offered Germany. By disposing of those supplies the industrial prosperity of the United States was assured. We left wartime samples in Europe, while at home we entered upon a new production program of unprecedented proportions. So on a smaller scale it has been with Germany.

As a result, competition in the markets of the world is rapidly narrowing into a contest for supremacy between the United States and Germany, although other rivalries may be more apparent at the moment. German industrial cartels, constituting the most powerful influence behind the German Government, are directing Germany's whole political and economic trend. In their determination to undersell their only rivals, the Americans, and to conquer all the export markets, they are sacrificing every temporary opportunity to profit by their vast operations abroad. It is not necessary to indicate the tremendous bargaining power which even the partial success of this program will bring the new Germany. It is difficult to exaggerate the significance and the possible consequences of this German industrial cartelization, whose fundamental influence is felt and acknowledged by Germany's immediate neighbors.

The inventive genius for which German laboratories have long been justly famous is doing its share toward the nation's industrial regeneration. French acquisition of Lorraine and Polish enrichment with Upper

Silesia have forced Germany to find substitutes for the raw materials thus lost to her, and according to the daily accounts of Germany's laboratory achievement, she is finding them. Her dependence on foreign coal, rubber and combustible oils is constantly being reduced by the increasing production of substitutes, as, for instance, the one replacing gasoline, which may eventually revolutionize the automotive and aviation industries. And this is only one of the examples of German activity in this most fertile of all fields.

It is true that to a certain degree German trade balances are being maintained by foreign loans, but that is a temporary expedient which sound improvement is perceptibly remedying. The gold standard itself throughout the world is maintained by manipulation. The Reichsbank, under the extraordinarily able direction of Herr Schacht, is making no mistake. It is not losing control of loans. If anything, Berlin is keeping abreast of New York and is setting a certain pace for London and Paris, while cooperating fully with the new economic World Powers, of which politicians have good reason to be jealous.

Domestic prosperity, too, is returning, as increasing tax returns show. Abundant, easy credits, vigilantly controlled, are promoting capital expansion. The unemployment problem is materially and steadily improving, despite temporary setbacks. The jobless are decreasing by the thousands monthly, and last October their financial care ceased to be a State burden. Unemployment insurance has been assumed by the employers and workers themselves through a moderate proportionate levy on their incomes.

#### GROWTH OF MERCHANT MARINE

Germany is reviving her merchant marine by means of subsidies, just as the Reich is reanimating German industry and trade. Petty politics and niggardliness are not delaying vital expansion, and the new German merchant fleet now ranks third in Europe, being surpassed by those of Britain and Italy alone. It would not be surprising if these modern German ships re-established within a brief period of time the old rivalry with Britain. Germany feels a patriotic pride in her ships, which makes



the recent almost simultaneous launchings of the Europa and the Bremen with President Hindenburg's personal blessing even more significant than their mere appearance as huge additions to Germany's new commercial sea forces. The very restrictions upon the German naval establishment are factors in its growth. Recently the navy-minded world was notified that the Germans had solved much of the cruiser problem which wrecked the Tri-Power Navy Limitation Conference at Geneva in the Summer of 1927. The new cruisers Karlsruhe and Königsberg, for instance, have a speed, cruising radius and stanchness surpassing their British counterparts to such an extent as to be a revolutionary departure in naval design almost equal to that established by the original dreadnought. These 6,000-ton ships mount high-angle fire 6-inch guns of a construction and calibre enabling them to outshoot British ships of superior tonnage and gunnage. Their broadside and pursuit fire excels anything thus far devised by America, Britain or Japan. It would even seem that these cruisers constitute a definite challenge to the bitterly discussed 10,000-ton, 8-inch gun ships. When it is remembered that smaller German ships armed with supposedly inferior guns outfought the British superior force at Jutland, one's imagination requires no far flight to picture what a later German fleet may do in another war.

The German commercial air fleets and lethal gas developments outbalance the treaty limitations on her military and naval establishments and at the same time meet her needs of genuine economy. The point is that Germany, far from being strangled either as a peacetime competitor or a wartime antagonist, is climbing back to a far more effective "place in the sun" than any bombastic speech of Wilhelm Hohenzollern could have created.

#### DOMESTIC POLITICS

Germany's industrial and trade revival, and the very complete and economical way in which the Reich has circumvented the treaty restrictions upon her army, navy and military air force lead directly into the field of her domestic and foreign politics. Beneath the patriotic unity which makes Germany an irrepressibly going con-

cern, there are divisions of political thought; but their importance and potentialities have been grossly exaggerated. I have heard in Germany during recent years public exaltation of the imperial régime as representing the only true instrument and manifestation of German greatness, and there are Germans who are sincerely convinced that the Imperial Government was wrong only in that, through one of those historic tricks of fate, it failed. But there are also a great many monarchists, imperialists, Junkers, or whatever else they may call themselves or be called, whose interest in the return of the Kaiser, or a kaiser, and whose anxiety to revive pre-war Germany politically, revolve only about the jobs, emoluments and honors they and theirs enjoyed under the old dispensation. My personal observations and experience convince me that the Republic will have ample time in which to improve and strengthen its present popularity with the German masses, a fact which Hindenburg, Stresemann, the magnates and the powerful Junker Geheimsrats all realize.

All Germany, as well as the Doorn exile, were brought to a realization of that fact in 1926 when the popular vote fell just short of requiring indiscriminate confiscation of the former royalties' and princes' properties. That plebiscite compelled the employment of careful discretion in adjudicating the princes' claims to the belongings they formerly enjoyed. The people recorded in that vote their determination to impound such State property as the ex-Kaiser forgot or was unable to take on his flight to Holland, and they registered their strength to enforce that decision, the result of which is that there is no more talk of further enriching the already affluent and idle princes. My impression of the Germans' attitude toward their domestic political situation is that they have had enough of Prussian paternalism and that their purpose is to retain definite control of the ultimate disposal of their affairs. The business folk of Germany have pretty well returned to the practice of the original methods of the old Hanseatic League merchants in determining their people's political activities according to the exigencies of their commercial interests. This is one way to assure the solidarity of the Republic.

While the people are fast resuming their normal habits of life, work and amusement, Germany as a nation is exerting increasing pressure abroad for a readjustment of the international situation, and a reassessment of her own international status. For a long time, beginning at Rapallo, the Reich used her close friendship with Russia as a whip over the former Allies. Nor was it any mere gesture, since Germany has consistently nursed her relations with the Soviet Government for the mutual economic and political welfare of both countries. If they were both to be ostracized, as at one time seemed to be Great Britain's and France's purpose, Germany and Russia were determined to exploit the situation for their common benefit and the eventual discomfiture of those Powers that isolated them. Germany is Russia's handiest loan market, and Russia is Germany's most convenient customer and potentially best field for industrial exploitation. Furthermore, Russia constitutes the arsenal which the Treaty of Versailles forbids Germany to maintain within her own borders. In a word, it is foolish to try to strangle or isolate Germany permanently, whether for reasons of peace or of war. Germany cannot be suppressed; of this Napoleon's failure was ample proof. She is too virile, too resourceful and too powerful a nation.

German relations with Soviet Russia may seem paradoxical. To some observers they constitute a dilemma, and it is no secret that London has made strenuous efforts to wean Berlin away from Moscow. The moral support that Germany gave Russia has made the task of bringing the Kremlin leaders to their senses extremely difficult. Germany, indeed, strenuously objected to any Russian communist propaganda waged in Germany, and the activities of the Third International were closely watched and curbed by the Reich authorities. German officialdom, the press and the people were shocked by Soviet extravagances and by the wholesale executions that took place in Russia, and expressed their indignation in no uncertain terms. But at the same time Germany took excellent care to maintain, separate and intact, her political and trade relations with Russia, and by so doing solved that vexatious dilemma. The whole problem has since dissolved with Stalin's

abandonment of the fanatical "world revolution" policy. But the spirit of Brest-Litovsk still links the two nations.

The best Great Britain and France could do with their victory was to acquire and divide certain spoils after the grand manner of the old medieval days, and the high-sounding names applied to the variations of this policy, such as mandates, are simply modern euphemisms. More than once Berlin has been able to profit by British and French political hypocrisy and rapacity; where they have quarreled, Germany has reaped rich benefits. In fact, whenever either London or Paris has endeavored to play off Germany against the other for selfish purposes, Berlin has with almost monotonous consistency turned the play against both of them and manoeuvred herself into a victory; this happened in the Ruhr. And now that an Anglo-French naval armament understanding has been broached, the anti-German effort is aimed against any community of purpose between the United States and the Reich; but American investments in Germany's future constitute an amply satisfactory reply to that manoeuvre.

Germany's participation in the Locarno decision and Briand's conversations with Stresemann at Thoiry are further outstanding instances of Germany's foreign policy. So are Berlin's outspoken demands for a share in the Treaty Mandates, now that Germany is a League member. The wedge continues to widen the breach and clear Germany's path. The Wilhelmstrasse ceaselessly insists that that clause of the Covenant binding the other Treaty Powers to disarmament be observed. The potentialities of Germany's whole attitude render imperative both a reduction and definite statement of her reparations liabilities and the evacuation of the Rhineland. Briand has practically admitted this, even over Poincaré's protests, but he introduces the war debt movement as a safeguard of French interests. Meanwhile, Germany holds fast. Due note should also be taken of Germany's strong advocacy of arbitration among nations, which has become the universal current watchword. Germany is bringing this policy into play as fast as she can in all her international relations, so that when the nations clash again hers will not be the "war guilt." These peaceful preparations

for war bear closer scrutiny than all the ordinance developments elsewhere.

The *Anschluss* question, viz, the union of Germany and Austria, is another problem pressing for eventual Teutonic solution. It will require the making of certain concessions and guarantees to Italy, for which Germany and Austria have been preparing the way despite the deceptive bitterness of recurring debates about South Tyrol, debates which simply mark points reached in the preliminaries of negotiations. A better understanding with Poland has already been achieved. Through Mussolini's mediation negotiations are well under way looking to a solution of the Danzig and "Polish Corridor" questions. To Turkey Germany is still a most influential Power.

#### A KEY POSITION IN EUROPE

Most important of all the elements constituting Germany's new political status in Europe is the predominance of her championship, in and out of the League, of the lesser Powers, and the extent to which her support is sought by the Great Powers. Germany, in other words, occupies the key position in Europe and bids fair to control the Continental situation in the coming years. More than one combination is already in the making for the establishment of a new balance of power in Europe, and in that eventual realignment Germany cannot be denied. The *Drang nach Osten* is again in full swing, but this time it is due East. No scheme of a new Mitteleuropa which omits consideration of Germany can get beyond the blueprint stage. The men really responsible for her future are determined that the blunders of a self-considered omniscient, omnipotent, imperial-military oligarchy of other days shall not be repeated. The people are being educated to realize and to share that decision. The "place in the sun" loudly heralded by Kaiser Wilhelm II at Tangier in 1905 is in a fair way to be peacefully and more substantially attained within another decade.

The Reich, too, is in a position to determine Russia's future and thus to decide whether the inevitable changes coming in the East shall be effected by peaceful or violent means. Britain recognizes the value of Republican Germany's friendship, and has laid her plans accordingly. Fascist

Italy, relieved of the former German financial domination, and having at last achieved a status of equality among Europe's Great Powers, finds her interests in conflict with Germany's least of all the nations of Europe. France's security is just as good as German willingness to respect it, for the Little Entente cordon which France has so laboriously drawn around her is no dependable quantity. The future of Europe is very much in Germany's hands as Europe knows. The peace of the world depends not on the problem of Anglo-American naval rivalry, although it may appear so now, but upon the outcome of the intense competition of Germany and America for the world's export trade.

In such circumstances it behooves Americans to consider the realities rather than allow themselves to be misled by the repeated reverberations of those eventful days when knowledge of the facts was regarded as psychologically unwholesome. The friendly advances and even the threats to America in these latter days by both Great Britain and France furnish considerable evidence of the respect in which Germany is held. Neither regards America's heavy financial interest in Germany or our changing attitude toward the Reich with apathy or sympathy. Neither relishes the thought of German-American trade competition eventually effecting a mutually beneficial understanding to avoid conflict. It will be well to remember in these days of cosmic readjustments, and of conflicting attempts in Europe to control them, that Germany is returning "to the sun."

This may seem a decidedly one-sided view of Germany's place and part in the rapidly evolving European realignment and in the new world situation. Such an impression would be erroneous, however, for it would be based on the prevalent belief that superficial and temporary conditions, largely exaggerated and loudly proclaimed in some quarters, are permanent. If Americans are to be guided accurately in their attitude toward the New Europe and its constituent States, an honest appraisal of all the facts is necessary. We can in no way be capable of facing the problems which Europe raises for us on all horizons unless we consider frankly the facts of Germany as the most powerful national unit in Europe.



# Colonel House's Latest Disclosures

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

LATELY LECTURER ON AMERICAN HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY

WITH the publication of the third and fourth volumes of *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*,\* we probably have the last, for the time being, at least, of the selections from this great collection of World War documents that will be permitted to see the light. It is natural, perhaps, that there should be in these last two volumes somewhat less of Colonel House himself, and somewhat more of President Wilson and other personages, than was to be found in the earlier volumes, for the events of the period to which the volumes relate were in many ways more momentous and Wilson's personality was a more dominating influence. Not the least important of the documents now offered, indeed, are a considerable number of papers written by other hands than those of Wilson or House, while to these have been added others, of later date than the war period, intended to corroborate or correct House's contemporary memoranda. Professor Seymour's connecting narrative, too, is somewhat more extended than before, and on a number of points his notes and comments are themselves a contribution of first-rate importance. Taken as a whole, the two volumes round out the record of a personal and political career unique in American annals, and one that must be studied in detail by any one who aspires to understand the Wilson régime and the course of World War diplomacy.

Down to the beginning of the period in which the United States took part as a combatant in the war, it cannot be said that House had achieved any marked success in the major tasks which he had undertaken. His exceptional personal acquaintance with European leaders, however, together with the privileges which he enjoyed as the unofficial representative of President Wilson, had not only given him a better knowledge than any other American possessed of the European situation, but

had also enabled him to discern, as the American public certainly did not discern, the difficulties which were bound to arise if the Allies, widely apart in their conceptions of war aims, should be able to push the war to a victorious peace. It was the problem of war aims, more than any other, that seemed to have dominated his thought and influenced his action after the United States formally entered the war, and while the great decisions were not for him to make, his more clearly defined position as a Wilson spokesman added to his opportunities as well as to his responsibilities, and gave to his counsels a weight second only to that exercised by Wilson himself.

Out of the prodigious mass of affairs in which, during the two years and a half covered by the present volumes, House took a more or less influential part, only a few of the most important can be mentioned here. Professor Seymour's extracts and notes dispose once and for all of Wilson's assertion that he did not know about the secret treaties early in the war. House himself knew of the Treaty of London and the Rumanian demands; the agreements and understandings were discussed at a White House conference between Wilson, House and Balfour on April 30, 1917, a few days after the arrival in this country of the Balfour mission, and Balfour himself, on Jan. 30, 1918, wrote to Wilson about them. The only point, apparently, in regard to which both Wilson and House were uninformed was the understanding between the Allies and Japan regarding Shantung. Professor Seymour, who supplements the documents with an informing note, charitably suggests that Wilson's later disclaimer was perhaps due to forgetfulness or some confusion of dates, and it is at least to be said that the *Intimate Papers* themselves seem to show that Wilson did not regard the treaties as of great importance when they were first brought to his notice.

The existence of the secret treaties, some of whose provisions House regarded as bad, appears to have been in part responsible for

\**The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. The Ending of the War.* Arranged as a narrative by Charles Seymour. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

House's early opposition to a discussion of war aims. He took pains to urge this upon Balfour and confided to Wilson that if the Allies once began to debate the question of what they were fighting for, "they will soon hate one another worse than they do Germany, and a situation will arise similar to that in the Balkan States after the Turkish War." His suggestion to Wilson, made after conference with Sir Eric Drummond and with Balfour's approval, that a statement should be issued declaring the willingness of the Allies to treat with the German people but not with a military autocracy, evidently did not appear to him to be a departure from this principle. Wilson, of course, had already said in substance, in his speech of April 2, 1917, what House wanted said later, except that he then spoke only for the United States. Until the peace settlement was fixed beyond recourse, however, House continued to draw back from the extreme Allied claims, and until after the armistice exerted himself to prevent statements that would reveal Allied jealousies and ambitions.

Wilson was not always easy to move, notwithstanding the extraordinary influence which House long exerted. House, for example, thought that the Pope's plea for peace ought to have a conciliatory reply, but Wilson was at first indisposed to make any reply at all and yielded only after much urging. There was vast need, too, of information about the European situation, especially in its bearing upon peace terms. Out of this need grew the famous inquiry made by an aggregation of scholars, publicists and others who undertook to collect and sift such knowledge as might be useful to the American negotiators. The idea was Wilson's, but House responded "with enthusiasm." Lansing agreed that House was the man to direct the project and the latter was given a free hand. Professor Seymour suggests that the chief importance of the inquiry at first lay in such help as it might give Wilson in curbing the imperialistic ambitions of the Allies and substituting therefor his own point of view.

#### PART IN FRAMING THE FOURTEEN POINTS

It was to this inquiry that Wilson owed in the main the data upon which he based the proposals of his Fourteen Points. House

had a large share in framing the speech in which the Fourteen Points were enunciated, and one of the most interesting documents in the collection is that which records his long conference with Wilson, his suggested phrasing and rephrasing of the successive paragraphs of the declaration and his final arrangement of the paragraphs in what seemed to him a logical order.

Before the Fourteen Points speech was under way House had been engaged in activities in Europe which made it more than ever difficult to resist the pressure of Allied opinion. At the end of October, 1917, he went to England as head of the American War Mission, and at London, where he held a kind of court at Chesterfield House, he labored hard over the vexed problem of Allied unity. On Nov. 7 the Supreme War Council was created at Rapallo. "No one fully understood it," wrote House, "not even its creators. . . . The French believed that it was a British scheme to get control of the French armies and the British thought the same about the French." He advised Wilson to "make his adhesion to the Supreme War Council contingent on the appointment of an Allied commander-in-chief," and in the sharp controversy that followed over that important step House again took an influential part. The meeting of the Interallied Conference at the end of November, on the other hand, turned out to be of less importance than had been expected and House failed to obtain from the Conference approval of a statement of war aims, submitted with Wilson's endorsement, which he hoped would encourage the German Liberals.

The report which he submitted on his return was not optimistic. "Unless a change for the better comes, the Allies cannot win and Germany may." Both English and French insisted that the American troops ought to be merged with theirs as soon as they arrived, but "if once we merge with them we will probably never emerge." The Supreme War Council as then constituted "is almost a farce," and only the United States could make it efficient.

When, in February, Wilson decided to reply to the speeches of Czernin and Hertling, spokesmen respectively for Austria-Hungary and Germany, House again served as critic. "I have never advised a quarter

as many eliminations in any previous address as in this one," he wrote. He held out as long as he could against the proposal of an Allied expedition to Russia after Brest-Litovsk and was at one with Wilson in opposing Japanese entry into Siberia. It was House's attitude, apparently, quite as much as Wilson's, that found expression in the one of the Fourteen Points that relates to Russia, but Allied pressure won the day, and on Feb. 28, 1918, Wilson penned a note to the Allied Ambassadors stating that the United States had "no objection" to a request to Japan to act in Siberia. Professor Seymour suggests that House's opposition may have been weakened by his conversations with Wilson, but his alternative interest in an economic mission to Russia seems to imply that he was desirous of avoiding a direct rebuff by bringing Allied pressure to bear upon Russia indirectly.

#### MADE DRAFT OF LEAGUE COVENANT

We already know from Ray Stannard Baker that the Covenant of the League of Nations was not original with Wilson, and the history of the Covenant has been told, in practically definitive form, by David Hunter Miller. What Professor Seymour offers from the House papers, accordingly, is in part a supplement to Miller and in part a corrective of Baker. House made a draft of a Covenant in July, 1918, after discussing the matter with various persons, but further consideration of the project was deferred until the Peace Conference. Then, as the plan took form, House was at one with Wilson in urging the League as a vital, and in most respects the chief, element in the peace settlement, and he counseled Wilson to make it the main issue at the Conference. The *Intimate Papers* make it clear that Mr. Baker greatly overemphasized the alleged British opposition to the League, and that instead of trying to sidetrack the League its British friends gave it strong support. There is still, apparently, a good deal of force to the criticism that Wilson sacrificed important territorial and political considerations in order to obtain the League, but the weight of the criticism is somewhat lessened by the evidence which Professor Seymour adduces.

The Peace Conference found House working for the first time in direct official as

well as personal collaboration with Wilson. The difficulties were enormous, and what had been complicated enough at the outset became indefinitely more complicated as the negotiations went on. By the beginning of March, 1919, it had become clear that the point of view represented by the Fourteen Points could not be imposed upon the Allies, and House's warm personal friendship with Clemenceau did not avail to prevent the French from pressing extreme demands which Wilson and House were loth to grant. House worked hard to save the Sarre from exploitation, to prevent a long-continued military occupation of the Rhineland and to induce the British to agree upon the inclusion in the Versailles treaty of "a definite but reasonable sum of reparations," but all three of these points were eventually conceded at the cost, as it proved, of Wilson's prestige. There was probably no busier man in the world than House while the Conference sessions lasted, and the roll of his callers reads like a *Who's Who* of the globe's notables; but Wilson, of course, rather than House, was now the commanding figure on the American side, and House's actual influence, while continuing to be everywhere pervasive, became in fact more and more incidental.

#### MYSTERY OF BREAK WITH WILSON

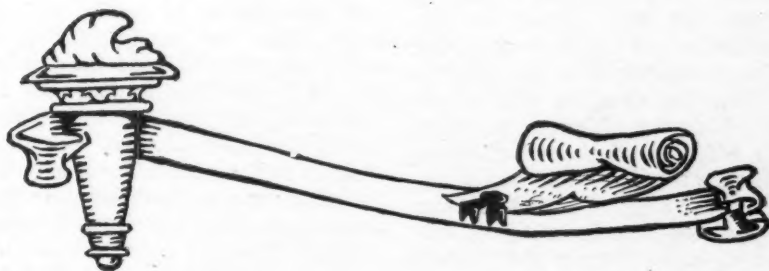
On the intriguing question of the alleged break between Wilson and House neither the documents nor Professor Seymour's careful comments are entirely conclusive. It was at the Peace Conference, writes Professor Seymour, that "for the first time close observers noted or thought that they noted something of a break in the perfect confidence that had always existed between the two men." It is "equally true," he continues, "that there is no scrap of evidence in all of House's papers indicating any specific reason for a rift in their relations" during the Conference. The letters that were interchanged continued to bear the customary phrases of friendship and regard. Yet during the Fall and Winter of 1919-20, after House, who had been ill at New York while Wilson was ill at Washington, had recovered his health, the looked-for invitation to visit Wilson did not come, the infrequent notes showed less cordiality and the friendship quietly lapsed. House himself,



in a recent letter which forms the final document in these volumes, confesses that he has no key with which to unlock the door. "My separation from Woodrow Wilson," he writes to Professor Seymour, "was and is to me a tragic mystery, a mystery that now can never be dispelled, for its explanation lies buried with him. . . . Never, during the years we worked together, was there an unkind or impatient word, written or spoken. . . . Until a shadow fell between us I never had a more considerate friend, and my devotion to his memory remains and will remain unchanged." Yet in the same letter he declares that "theories I have, and theories they must remain. These you know." It is not with Wilson alone, apparently, that the "tragic mystery" lies buried.

It is difficult, even with these four volumes of selected and annotated papers before us, to gauge with precision the position of Colonel House. It is clear enough that he was eyes and ears to Wilson throughout the war, and his activities as spokesman and intermediary kept him close to the heart of much that was going on. It may

well be doubted if any American was ever charged, officially or unofficially, with such a multifarious mass of important and delicate duties, or held his course with greater discretion. Substantively, it would seem, his influence was less than it appeared to be at the time. Only at brief intervals was he in a position to speak with authority; for the rest, his function was to support, counsel, guide, formulate or plead in a cause whose ultimate determination certainly did not fall to him. More than once he yielded to pressure that seemed too strong to resist, as diplomatists are likely to do, but he had voluntarily assumed the rôle of a personal agent, and there is no evidence that he desired at any time to become a leading actor in the play. If to some his attitude will continue to seem a rare exhibition of personal devotion to a friend and a cause, there will be at least as many others to wonder why, with so much of the substance of power in his hands, he should on the whole have accomplished so little with which his name can be definitely linked. The revelations of the *Intimate Papers* leave Colonel House still a man of mystery.



# The Plight of the Porto Rican Schools After the Hurricane

By ELIZABETH K. VAN DEUSEN

PERHAPS the greatest and most successful means by which civilized man has triumphed over the natural forces which surround and threaten him is organized and general education. For expounding knowledge, he has devised the proper working materials and erected suitable edifices at large cost of experience, time and wealth. Ironical and pitiful it is, then, when all these devices are swept away and destroyed in a few hours by the very forces which they stand as monuments to rebuke! For that was the effect of the terrific hurricane which swept over Porto Rico in September, devastated the island's coffee and other crops, and destroyed over 1,000 Porto Rican schools. Nor is this the first time that the cause of public education in Porto Rico has been set back by a totally unexpected and destructive cataclysm of nature.

"A tremendous achievement in spite of innumerable difficulties" summarizes educational progress in Porto Rico during the last thirty years. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century public instruction was so little a part of Porto Rican life as to be inconsiderable; and, even though it was nominally gratuitous and obligatory during the thirty-four years preceding the Spanish-American War, the situation was so deplorable as to render children in school little better off than those not enrolled. Not a single class was conducted in a structure erected for or adapted to the purpose, the majority of the schools being customarily carried on in the home of the teacher, who was allowed a small sum for rent in addition to salary.

The system of school gradation into elementary, superior and adult branches existed only in name, the instruction throughout being about the same, except as the efforts of the individual teacher made one school better or worse than another. Most teachers were merely pensioners upon the Government, that is, if they were able to collect any salaries at all.

A commission reporting upon public instruction soon after the beginning of the American régime said:

The schools we visited are simply pretensions to education and in the United States would not be regarded as being worthy of the name. The books most generally found in these schools are a primer, a catechism and a mental philosophy, and the system of education consists almost entirely of memorizing.

A census taken in Porto Rico in 1899, about a year after American occupancy, revealed a population of 951,836. Of this number only 15 per cent. reported that they could read and write; only 5,045 persons, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent., claimed to have more than an elementary education. There were 322,393 children between the ages of five and seventeen. Of these a little over 8 per cent. were enrolled in the public schools in 1898, while the average daily attendance was less than 6 per cent.

From almost the first moment the Americans landed in Porto Rico, they had in mind the education of Porto Ricans according to the democratic principles so cherished in the United States. To this end the system of public instruction in Porto Rico was reorganized to function along the same lines as the public schools of the United States. Limited resources prevented any great or immediate expansion. The first attempt was to put the already existing schools upon a secure basis. Supplies were ordered, teachers examined, schoolrooms removed from the habitation of the teacher and suitably located.

Then, even before the Fall term could begin, came the terrific hurricane of San Ciriaco, on Aug. 8, 1899, taking an enormous toll of human life and property, and leaving the fairest island in the Caribbees a scene of famine, sickness and tortured desolation. Rehabilitation was to occupy the first place of importance in Porto Rico for months, even for years. Out of the suffering rose the new system of education, crippled but still hopeful; among the débris

and ruin schools began to function. Even in that harrowing year, 1899-1900, over 24,000 children were enrolled in school; more than 5,000 were refused admission for lack of room, and the average daily attendance was 20,103. The enormously retarded development of proper education was reflected in the fact that 15,496 of these children were enrolled in first-year work, 8,012 in second-year, and only 984 in all advanced work together!

The first Civil Governor of Porto Rico, Hon. Charles H. Allen, reported in 1900 that the present course of instruction was of necessity elementary, but promised that, as the pupils progressed, a high school would one day be established in each important town. He said: "The impossible will not be attempted in the schools of this island; but whatever honest effort, intelligently directed, can accomplish within the pecuniary limitations surrounding our people, will be done, and done well." In this sentence the keynote of thirty years' effort was first sounded.

The Military Governor, Brig. Gen. George W. Davis, estimated the problem in a report written in 1899. There were more than 322,000 children of school age. Allotting fifty pupils to a teacher would mean that Porto Rico should have 6,400 teachers at an aggregate salary of \$1,620,000, to say nothing of the additional supplies and buildings. With this estimate General Davis dismissed the matter simply as a nebulous dream of the distant future. Yet we have seen this dream approach very near realization—only to be cruelly shattered.

#### OBSTACLES TO EDUCATION OVERCOME

Porto Rico was formerly divided into two distinct classes of people, the small group of the influential and wealthy, and the vast mass of the poor and ignorant. The first great task lay in educating the Porto Ricans to *want* education. The poor did not desire it, chiefly because of the apathy of ill health and the indifference of ignorance. Then, also, many contingent factors had to be developed before there was justification for island-wide education. Living conditions, sanitation, health, all stood in intense need of improvement. Roads, opening the way for schools, had to be

built at the cost of the best engineering service. The small upper class did not desire public instruction for several reasons. They foresaw extra taxation; they feared the loss of social and financial prestige; they were reluctant to have their children attend the same school as their laborers, and they held to the once prevalent belief that education of the masses is undesirable and dangerous.

How all the foregoing obstacles and many others were met and conquered, how the new system was built without background or precedent, and how the light of knowledge has in great measure displaced the blindness of ignorance, that is the thirty years' story of education in Porto Rico under the Stars and Stripes. It is undoubtedly safe to say that today not a citizen of this island holds learning to be undesirable for anybody. The desire for it is general, its acquisition nearly so. Porto Rico is as democratic, as farsighted, as progressive as any State in the Union.

Since 1898 nearly 1,500 miles of macadamized roads have been constructed by the Insular Government, connecting every town in the island, and bringing the benefits of a modern world within reach of the most remote mountain dwellers. Great irrigation, building, sanitation, and aqueduct projects have been accomplished. Telephone and telegraph lines form their web-work over the entire island. Close on to 400,000 people have been cured of anemia due to hookworm disease, discovered here shortly after the hurricane in 1899, by the eminent authority on tropical diseases, Dr. Bailey K. Ashford. This beneficent work has transformed the Porto Rican peasants from an apathetic and seemingly lazy people to an industrious, intelligent, and alert body of citizens, whom we are happy and proud to call brother Americans.

That Porto Rico has been making economic progress is beyond dispute. According to the most recent figures, external trade has increased from \$16,000,000 in 1900 to \$195,883,139 in 1928. The increase of shipments to the United States was from \$3,000,000 to \$96,662,619, and the increase of purchases from the United States was from \$6,000,000 to \$79,743,088, thus giving Porto Rico a \$16,818,931 balance of trade over the United States.





This mass of wreckage was once a school in Aguadilla

In this amazing picture of progress along all lines the development of public schools holds the place of central interest. So important, in fact, has education become that the Porto Rican Legislature apportions to it by far the largest part of the yearly budget, the sum appropriated in 1927 comprising nearly 38 per cent. of the total budgetary appropriations. The island has, or rather had, as we must now say, 2,144 school buildings, comprising 4,470 classrooms. The enrolment for the school year 1927-8 was 220,940. There were 4,478 teachers employed, of whom only 143 were from the United States. These figures show at a glance the gratifying materialization of the dream which seemed so nebulous, so far away in 1899!

So much for the material facts. Even more astonishing is the intellectual growth in Porto Rico, with all its corresponding influence upon the community. In the first place, illiteracy has been reduced from 85 per cent. in 1899 to below 40 per cent. at present. So desirous are the people of Porto Rico of becoming literate that in spite of lack of funds hundreds of public-spirited school teachers have donated their

services to adult night schools; and in response thousands of laborers, weary after a strenuous day under the tropical sun in cane or tobacco fields, fruit or coffee plantations, have attended these informal classes and have learned to read and write.

Furthermore, while conserving its musical Spanish language, Porto Rico has acquired English with such amazing rapidity through the medium of its schools that the country today may truly be said to be bilingual—the advantages of which, cultural, commercial, diplomatic, are obvious.

Let us dwell for a moment upon the racial characteristics of the Porto Ricans who have been our brother citizens since 1917, and about whom all too little is known. Porto Rico was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493 and colonized by Spain. Hence it has been from the first a country of white people. Even as in our own Southern States, negro slaves were imported at an early date, mainly to replace the native Indians who died off quickly under bondage. While there was some inevitable mixture of Spanish, negro, and Indian blood, the majority of the people retained their white heritage. Seventy-three

per cent. of the population of 1,299,809 (Census of 1920) is white, mostly of pure Spanish descent, while 23.2 per cent. is mulatto and only 3.8 per cent. is negro. The intelligence of the Porto Ricans is keen; the scourge of anemia having been greatly reduced, and the populace given the opportunity to learn, they have, in barely more than a quarter of a century, developed their island into a modern and progressive American community.

Even though the increase of costs and the growth of population have so far prevented education from reaching every child of school age, conditions never looked more favorable than at the beginning of the school year 1928-29. The finest buildings of the islands were in schools—modern in their equipment, architecturally designed to harmonize with the tropical beauty of Porto Rico's landscape and the balminess of her climate. There were new construction projects intended in time to replace such schools as were still conducted in rented buildings. Research into latest educational methods bade fair to make the coming year outstanding in achievement in both city and rural schools.

As an example of what the progress

of education means to Porto Rican youth let us consider the experience of a typical mountain boy. Juanito Rivera was born in a tiny one-room palm-thatched house, upon a remote mountainside, in the midst of a vast coffee plantation. He was eight years old, yet he had never been to school, for there was none near-by, and his father and mother, with six other young children, could not afford to send him beyond the mountains in search of education. Juanito was a bright boy, and he knew all about school. Often he had heard tales of its many advantages from the children of his father's employer, the coffee-grower.

One day wonderful news reached the workers of the obscure coffee plantation: a new road was coming, pushing over the mountains, bringing to them the advantages of communication, connecting them in fact with the outside world, heretofore so far away, so difficult to reach over the many miles of rough country. Juanito heard of the road and could scarcely comprehend its meaning. He scampered off to find it, and thereafter the road workers often noticed a small and timid boy, clad in a blue-checked gingham shirt and meagre tan trousers, innocent of shoes or hat, watch-



What was left of the rural school at Barrio Pueblo, Corozal. Most of the other wooden schoolhouses shared the same fate

ing their labors with bright-eyed interest.

Finally the new road was completed. On the heels of all this wonder came an even greater surprise: the building of a consolidated school, scarcely half a mile from Juanito's cabin! Every day the boy went to watch the construction of the four-roomed building. Now scarcely anything was spoken of in that isolated neighborhood except the school and who would be so fortunate as to attend it. These were days of anxious suspense for barefoot, tousle-headed Juanito. One day he heard his parents discussing the question:

There has not been such a heavy crop hanging upon Don Manuel's coffee trees in thirty years. That means a big harvest, many days of profitable work for us during the picking season. Surely we cannot afford to deny our children the privileges of education. The books will be furnished them by the Insular Government. A few clothes are all we will need to buy. Yes, if there is room for them, we will send Maria, Pedro and Juanito.

Juanito shouted: "I am going to school! I am going to school!" and wondered how he could ever wait.

Finally came the opening day. Juan was at the schoolhouse door almost before the

sun had driven away the heavy morning mist, his face shining with cleanliness and smiles. All over Porto Rico were crowds of boys and girls, clamoring in happy excitement before the doors of the schools, for Porto Rican children love nothing better than to go to school.

Classes began. For two short weeks the busy hum of reciting children rose over all the land. Porto Rico had never been more tranquil, more prosperous, or more beautiful. The countryside was rich with the coming harvests. Peace abode in the homes of the people, in the groves of fruit and palms, over the fields of waving cane.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE HURRICANE

Then, with the roar of a beast bent upon destruction, there descended upon this island, on Sept. 13, the awful hurricane of San Felipe. It raged for some thirty-six ghastly hours, and passed on, leaving behind it one of the most woeful and desolate scenes ever drawn by the sometimes ruthless and impartial hand of Nature. Who did not live through those hours of fiendish wind, who has not seen the tortured wreck it left of one of earth's garden spots, can



Young refugees of the storm on the steps of the schoolhouse in Utuado, where they came for shelter





A school building at Yauco, which was slightly damaged by the storm

scarcely imagine Porto Rico in the days following the hurricane, stunned, ruined, denuded, haunted by fear of those spectres which follow in the wake of such storms—hunger and disease.

On Juanito's childish memory were stamped those painful hours, when he was awakened in his hammock by rain streaming over him, by gusts of wind which threatened momentarily to sweep the frail cabin into the valley, and by his alarmed parents who herded their frightened family before them, out into the storm-lashed night, over the narrow mountain trail to seek shelter in the concrete house of the plantation owner, encountering upon the way other terrified families hastening toward the same refuge.

The entire island of Porto Rico witnessed similar scenes on the night of Sept. 12 and the following day. Many of these poor people remembered San Ciriaco and feared a repetition of the catastrophe of 1899. How little did they dream that the ensuing hours would produce a spectacle of destruction many times worse than that left by any hurricane which had ever ravaged Porto Rico!

As the day wore on and they crouched despairingly in the ranch house, they could hear the rush of waters which told them that the rains had swollen a near-by moun-

tain stream into a raging river, carrying away all in its path. They heard the constant crash of large trees which informed them only too well that the shade trees, so necessary to the cultivation of coffee, so old and strong, were being felled by the wind, taking the frail coffee bushes with them. They realized that their tiny homes could not withstand this tempest. They would lose everything—their homes, belongings, clothing, means of livelihood, perhaps even their lives! And still the wind raged and tore like some wild animal which would not be satisfied with anything less than complete destruction. In the midst of it all, Juanito thought of his school—that strong concrete building. Surely it would not fall! But even as he had the thought, the wind ripped the roof off the sturdy ranch house as easily as one removes the top from a fragile box, and left the cowering inmates to suffer the deluge of water!

When the storm finally abated, seeing that it could do no more, and the wretched people went forth to view its work, such havoc met their eyes as to turn them dumb. Devastated completely was the immense coffee grove—it lay a tortured tangle of green which was soon to turn a dead'ry brown, man's patient work of years of planting and care torn down in a few

hours. As they hastened along in the general direction of the obliterated trail they found all their small homes either wrecked beyond repair or carried completely away. During that horrible hour even some dead bodies of friends were discovered among the wreckage. Juanito's home was gone, swept entirely out of sight. His parents looked at each other in mute despair, wondering where they and their six children might pass the night out of the rain which was still falling; what they might eat, since everything had been destroyed, and the little ones were already asking for food, and what they might do to avoid the sickness which was almost certain to follow. In the midst of all this woe, Juanito slipped away and ran with great difficulty to learn the fate of his beloved school. Surely, surely, it would still be standing!

But of the beautiful new schoolhouse he found only crumbled masonry! Bestrewing the ground, broken beyond repair, were the fine new desks, while the books, most precious of all, had been scattered far and wide! Juanito sat down in one of the damaged seats, still attached to part of its desk, and cried bitterly. But his tears did nothing to mend the schoolhouse.

#### SCHOOLS DESTROYED—THE SITUATION TODAY

Nor can the grief of thousands upon thousands of Porto Rican boys and girls restore the 1,027 schoolrooms totally destroyed by the wind! Or the 1,281 partially destroyed rooms. Nor can the Insular Treasury, because of the extent of the damage suffered by all sources of revenue, soon produce the \$2,464,950 estimated necessary to replace buildings, furniture and fixtures, books and supplies lost in the tempest. Over half of the material evidence of years of uphill effort was wiped out in one day! It takes strength of will and courage to face the task of rehabilitation.

The American Red Cross, answering the prompt call for aid from the Governor of Porto Rico, the Hon. Horace M. Townner, and in cooperation with the entire Insular Government, has come nobly and generously to the relief of Porto Rico with food, medicine, shelter, blankets, clothing, and has done much to strengthen the morale of the suffering people. The island, being essentially agricultural, suffered losses of crops

reaching into the tens of millions. Banking institutions are trying to devise ways and means to tide over the stricken farmers. But how are the schools of Porto Rico to be restored? Further aid must again be sought from kindly and generous American people, or for a long time the Insular Department of Education must suffer from the serious loss of nearly half its working materials, and therefore deny proper education to thousands of children, especially of the type of Juanito, for by far the greater number of schools damaged or destroyed were in the rural districts. Perhaps by general contribution, perhaps through the agency of the Junior Red Cross, the children of the United States may restore the schools to their Porto Rican cousins.

In spite of all that has passed, 90 per cent. of the Porto Rican schools are, incredibly, again in operation—"to the great joy," as the Mayor of one small town reported, "of the school population!" Immediately after the storm any return to normal life seemed almost impossible. But normalcy or a good semblance of it is necessary to maintain any kind of morale among people suffering such hardships. Nothing gives a community a more normal appearance than children flocking through the streets to school. Three days after the hurricane classes were resumed in all schools still standing and not in use as temporary hospitals or shelters for homeless people, 242 buildings being devoted at that time to these uses. Since then each day has seen other schools return to normal sessions as soon as the authorities have been able to acquire temporary quarters in rented houses, or other available places. In some instances, it is almost impossible for teacher and pupils to hear one another, due to the pounding of carpenters repairing the roof over their heads, while a very common sight in the island is that of children industriously studying in a roofless schoolhouse! In some towns classes may be observed in session on front porches of private homes, and even over these improvised schools waves the flag. Due to the tremendous loss of supplies sometimes only one or two pupils have a book; in other cases only the teacher possesses a copy. Still classes are being carried on!

# Professor Fay's Book on the Origins Of the World War\*

## I—Germany's Responsibility Still Unshaken

By HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

AUTHOR OF MANY WORKS ON MODERN HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS;  
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WHENEVER a catastrophe occurs, it is human nature to attribute the blame for it without waiting for the evidence upon which to base an objective judgment, and then afterward to adopt a hostile attitude toward new light that would prove the hasty assumption of the moment to have been erroneous. The World War had hardly started when the propagandists opened fire. With increasing insistence throughout the years of conflict the polemicists of both sides asserted the guilt of their enemies. Largely because of Germany's tactlessness and ruthlessness, neutral public opinion was disposed from the beginning to accept the thesis of Germany's sole responsibility for precipitating the conflict. This almost universal belief in Germany's guilt was the principal card the Entente Powers played during and after the Paris Peace Conference to justify the unprecedentedly harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles. German war guilt was regarded as *une chose jugée*. As spokesman for the men who imposed the treaties, Mr. Lloyd George explained to the world that political self-interest dictated unalterable opposition to any attempt to review the case after the passions and prejudices born of the war had died down.

The subject of the origins of the World War, to which Professor Fay of Smith College has devoted eight years of unremitting toil, has more than academic interest. The far-reaching effect of a revision of the verdict of 1919 is ample justification for his two volumes,\* and for the labor of eminent scholars in many countries in this field which he has made, in the United States, peculiarly his own. The debate over war

guilt affects more deeply than we are aware the present relations of European nations to one another. It concerns the stability of the present map of Europe. If the assertions accepted as true by those who dictated the Treaty of Versailles are proved false, the work and methods of the Paris Conference will be disapproved and eventually repudiated. We cannot, therefore, regard the findings of students like Professor Fay as merely a contribution to historical knowledge. These findings will have their influence on contemporary history.

Unfortunately, although the question of war guilt is not academic but vital and practical, the discussion of it still seems to be conducted along academic lines. College professors, employed by governments or following their own prejudices, gave academic form to war guilt accusations during the first months of the cataclysm. Most of them have modified their point of view since then. But have they changed their method of treatment? We think not. It is still difficult to separate scholarship from hysteria and pre-conceived notions. Some eminent authorities, writing in defense of their respective countries, still hunt for everything that will support their original theses, and others try so hard to be judicial and have become so wedded to regarding diplomatic documents as proof and to appraising the acts and motives of the statesmen who were in power at the outbreak of the World War, that they cannot bring themselves to abandon the purely conventional academic approach to a question that will not be solved by academic methods.

Professor Fay belongs to the latter class. We admire his fearlessness and steadfastness in seeking to establish the facts in the case. We admire his vindication of the scholar's right to refuse to base a historical

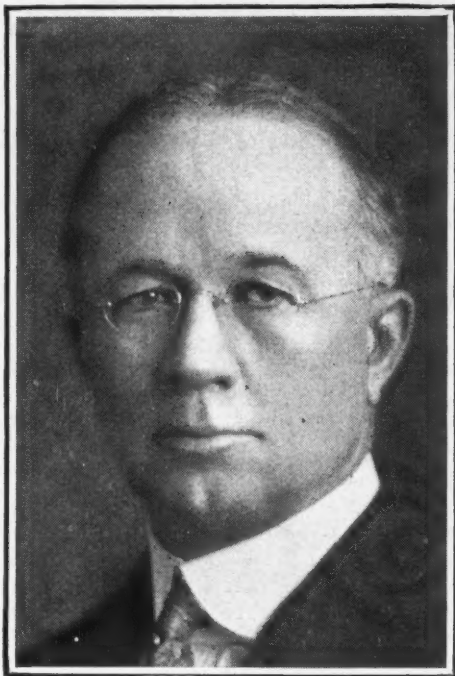
\**The Origins of the World War.* By Sidney Bradshaw Fay. New York: The Macmillan Company. 2 vols. 551-557 pp. \$8.



judgment upon partial—and sometimes questionable—evidence. We are in sympathy with his determination to make his study of the origins of the World War objective. We realize the Herculean character of the task to which he set himself during a period of eight years when new collections of documents, new testimony of principals, and new interpretations of historical students came in a remorseless flood across his desk. We recognize how splendidly he has profited by the new light of the documents and the testimony, and by the careful consideration he has given to what competent students in other countries have been writing. We are proud, for the sake of American scholarship, of this authoritative and comprehensive contribution to the study of the origins of the World War.

But in reading and re-reading the hundreds of pages of his text and footnotes we cannot escape the conclusion that he has been the victim of his own erudition and scholarly training and habits. Had Professor Fay been writing of events that occurred in another age than our own, he could not be accused of neglecting too much the *imponderabilia* in the tragedy of 1914. His critics could only put their own conjectures, their own inferences, their own estimates, into opposition with his. But readers of contemporary history have lived through the events described and interpreted by the writer. Against the scholar's thesis, established from the study of diplomatic documents and explanations of acts given either at the moment or afterwards by the actors themselves, the reader places his own experience of the events, his own knowledge of the actors.

In Professor Fay's work we have the judgments of a man who has a vast paper knowledge of contemporary events. He has judged national currents of opinion, mental states of groups and individuals, significant acts and decisions, almost solely by what certain statesmen wrote and did, and the explanations they gave afterwards. He has offset one statement by another, dispassionately, dissectingly. His analysis is keen; his comments incisive and always to the point; and his arguments logical. At times he is the textual critic, splitting hairs; at other times, he is the lawyer, building up a brief.



SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY  
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College; author of *The Origins of the  
World War*

There would not be much use in reviewing and taking issue with, specific points in Professor Fay's book. Most of it is so good that an occasional chapter like that on the Potsdam Conference legend, only accentuates the merit and the good temper of the work. In fact, it is not until we come to the last pages, dealing with the period from the morning of July 28 to Aug. 4, 1914, that we find ourselves out of sympathy with Professor Fay. He has not followed the example of Professor Barnes and several Continental writers in attempting to assess the relative degree of the war guilt of the Great Powers. But he has given too much weight, we think, to a supposed last moment awakening of the German statesmen to the realities of the situation. And we feel that the effort to stress this awakening has led him into conjecture both in regard to Sir Edward Grey's policy and what happened on Poincaré's way home from Russia.

As far as it goes, frankly based on the

limited evidence he has studied and set forth, Professor Fay's study of the origins of the World War is a work of sterling worth, which gives an amazing mass of detail in regard to matters people ought to know about. But we think that Professor Fay has not given enough consideration to the more remote causes of the war. We feel that even in the period that he subjects to searching scrutiny he has not given a proper place to mass psychology. Above all, we are of the opinion that he has not taken into account sufficiently the character of the men of whom he writes and of the atmosphere in which they were making their momentous decisions. Concerning those who are dead and gone and whom we know only from the written record of a past generation the historian and the

biographer give us the most accurate picture that is possible for us to have. Concerning those that lived in our own times and whom we know, we prefer to trust our own intuition.

Profit and pleasure in Professor Fay's great achievement, therefore, are mingled with a certain amount of amazement that we find ourselves unable to accept without reservation the results of his profound scholarship. Is it because Professor Fay has not remembered that sometimes the letter killeth and the spirit maketh alive? We do not know. We may be obtuse, but we have not had removed from our mind the conviction that, as far as immediate events were concerned, Germany must continue to bear the lion's share of the guilt of precipitating a World War in 1914.

## II—The Revisionists Vindicated

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

PROFESSOR OF HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY, SMITH COLLEGE;  
AUTHOR OF *The Genesis of the World War*

THE final appearance of Professor Fay's long-promised and eagerly awaited book on the responsibility for the World War will doubtless constitute the historical event of the year. Ever since the appearance of his epoch-making articles in the *American Historical Review* in 1920, ranking him decisively among the revisionists, it has been rumored that he was preparing a magisterial treatise on the causes of the war. Announced as in prospect from time to time by other writers on the subject, the anticipation of this work has led to the development of a veritable Fay legend of international scope. Had Professor Fay not from time to time contributed learned and telling articles and reviews, attesting to his corporeal existence, he would have become literally a mythical figure—a sort of historiographical Barbarossa some time to appear and scatter the epic mongers and patriotic liars whose declaration of faith was embodied in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles.

Professor Fay has disappointed many and exasperated others by his deliberation and delay in preparing his book, but it

would seem that his product vindicates his judgment and procedure, though it might perhaps have been a good thing if he had reprinted his original articles of 1920 in book form as a preliminary harbinger of the complete work to come later on. The new documentary evidence which has appeared in the last four years, notably the definitive information about the Russian mobilization, the exposure of Serbia, the full account of German policy in the *Grosse Politik*, and the British documents bearing on the crisis of 1914, has so revolutionized our knowledge of war responsibility that any book, however excellent, compiled at any earlier period would today be archaic. It is to be doubted if Professor Fay could have produced a decisively better book in 1924 than Dr. Ewart's *Roots and Causes of the Wars, 1914-1918*, but Ewart's book is now almost obsolete on the crisis of 1914. Today only the French, Italian and Serbian documents remain to be published, and they cannot materially alter the essential outlines of the picture of war responsibility as constructed by Professor Fay. The book, then, possesses a finality which it could

never have attained at an earlier date. Not only is the book decisively better than it could have been if executed some years back, but its publication is more fortunate and timely today than it could have been at any previous period. The rapidly mounting flood of serious and important literature on war guilt has both aroused an interest in the subject of war responsibility and also developed some degree of tolerance for fact in this field of scholarship. If the book had been published in 1922 it would either have fallen flat or would have been fiercely attacked as the product of a liberal subvention from Haus Doorn.

While the real merits of the book can be fully appreciated only by the patient and informed reader, we may state as a categorical initial estimate that the book is virtually an amazing product, even to the one who has expected more from it than any other writer on this subject. The reviewer is familiar with the literature of diplomatic history to a degree far in excess of the average American historian, and he has examined every important book which has appeared in English, French, German or Italian on the subject of war responsibility. It is his reasoned judgment that Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War* is, for a combination of significance of subject-matter, exhaustive scholarship, objectivity of tone, and fearlessness of narration the most impressive book which has thus far been published in this realm of historiography. The author is especially to be congratulated, for few books have been written under conditions more likely to impair their quality. The great majority of Professor Fay's closest friends and associates in the historical profession desired, above all else in the world, to have Professor Fay utilize his position and his enterprise to discomfort the revisionists and to vindicate the timid, the evasive, the slothful and the somnolent. Great pressure was put upon him indirectly to allow himself to be swayed by considerations other than those of historical sincerity and a regard for the facts, but he resolutely ignored such influences. He has produced a work which is absolutely above reproach and radiates sincerity and conviction from cover to cover. The personal equation is not absent from the work, but no one can impeach the author's probity or

objectivity. Further, it may be accurately declared to be the most powerful stroke for revisionism which has thus far been delivered by any author. This it is, in spite of the moderation in tone and the well-nigh complete absence of any controversial *tendenz*, for the good and sufficient reason that the facts of war responsibility are almost exclusively revisionist facts, and Professor Fay has brought together by all odds the most complete and effective array of facts on the subject which has been assembled. The guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles is now pulverized beyond the capacity of even a Renouvin or a Schmitt to rehabilitate it.

Not less a surprise and delight than the high quality of the work is its scope and general conception. Many had feared that the book would inevitably be a disappointment, if, for no other reason, by the very fact of the late date of its appearance. When Professor Fay first published his articles in 1920 few other scholars had attacked the problem of war guilt in an attitude of honesty and candor. In the last nine years the situation has been revolutionized, and now there are reputable writers on the question to be numbered by the score. Further, there is little which a candid and objective student of the subject can say about the crisis of 1914 which has not been said by Montgelas, Lutz, Stieve, Brandenburg, Fabre-Luce, Demartial, Dickinson, Gooch, Barbagallo, Lumbroso, Langer, Bausman, Ewart and a host of others. To be sure, there was a chance for the latest book to bring things thoroughly up to date, but this would constitute no epoch-making contribution in itself. If the work were to be limited to the crisis of June 28-Aug. 5, 1914, it was felt by many that the book could at best say with a greater wealth of detail what has been said over many times in the last four years.

#### 800 PAGES ON PRE-WAR HISTORY

Professor Fay has, however, sprung a distinct surprise in the scope of his work. Out of about 1,100 pages some 800 are devoted to the diplomatic history of Europe prior to the tension, negotiations, mobilizations and ultimatums which followed the Austrian rejection of the Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum. The whole of the



first volume is devoted to the period before 1914, and about half of the second to the setting of the Austro-Serbian *impasse*. As there is no adequate account of the diplomatic history of Europe from 1870 to 1914, with the exception of the rather specialized and limited manual by Erich Brandenburg (Gooch's volume being out of date and Langer's as yet unpublished), it is a veritable godsend to have such an exhaustive and dependable account of the pre-war diplomacy as is to be found in Professor Fay's first volume. While few who desire to learn the truth will be dissatisfied in any serious way with Professor Fay's second volume on the 1914 crisis, it is the opinion of the reviewer that distinctly more enthusiasm will be revealed over his first volume. It is a more needed tome, and it is distinctly more original and outspoken than the second volume. It is decidedly less marred by Professor Fay's disinclination to be classed with the advanced revisionist scholars, which constitutes the *leitmotif* of the second volume. In short, Professor Fay has not only done what was expected of him, namely, given us a competent account of the immediate causes of the World War, but he has presented us, as clear gain, with a gratifying surprise in the form of the best account in existence of the diplomatic antecedents of the Sarajevo plot and the clash of the Great Alliances.

How best to devote the available space to an analysis and appraisal of Professor Fay's book presents both an enticing and a baffling problem to the reviewer. The ingenious and informed reviewer could think of at least a half dozen possible reviews of 10,000 words each, which would in no sense duplicate one another. The present reviewer believes, however, that for the readers of *CURRENT HISTORY* the most useful thing will be to indicate the place of the work among the various contending groups or schools of writers on the subject of war responsibility. It would be fruitless to attempt to summarize the contents of the volumes, and all those worthy to know its material will want to examine it personally.

Every school of writers on war guilt will try to claim the book for their position through selecting certain passages, divorced from the context and the general tenor of the work. It will scarcely be necessary to

demonstrate that Professor Fay cannot be claimed by the bitter-enders like Charles Downer Hazen, William Stearns Davis, Edward Raymond Turner, J. W. Headlam-Morley, R. W. Seton-Watson, Bourgeois, Pagès and Debidour, who accept in greater or less part the whole complex of war-time fictions designed to prove the sole guilt of Germany. Before Professor Fay's facts and exposition, such notions as the Pact of Konopischt, where the Kaiser and Franz Ferdinand are supposed to have plotted the division of Europe, the Potsdam Conference, where the Kaiser revealed his plan to bathe Europe in gore, the contention that Germany dictated the Austrian program against Serbia and ruthlessly and arrogantly brushed aside all diplomatic proposals, and the thesis that Austria weakened during the last hours of the crisis and was reluctantly forced into the war by the precipitate and unjustified German declaration of war on Russia, possess the scientific status of chiropractic or the statistics employed in political campaigns. Equally unnecessary is it to prove that Professor Fay does not stand with those absurd revisionists who contend that the Central Powers were innocent lambs, feloniously surprised by the encircling Powers, who were egged on by the avarice and jealousy of Britain. The group whose claims are likely to be most dangerous and misleading are those who may be designated as the "salvagers," namely, those who are given over to the endeavor to save as much of the Entente epic of 1914-18 as can be rescued by every sort of device short of the acceptance of hopelessly discredited views and demonstrably forged and distorted documents. Of this group the most distinguished leaders are Pierre Renouvin and Bernadotte Schmitt, followed eagerly by other writers like Preston Slosson and M. T. Florinsky. That the association of Professor Fay with this group might have some element of reason in it would appear from the identification of Renouvin and Fay by Professor C. J. H. Hayes in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for June 16, 1928, and from the fact that, in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1928, Professor Fay himself stated that he regarded Renouvin's book as the best he had read on the subject of war guilt.

It is obvious that the only scientific man-

ner of ascertaining Professor Fay's position in regard to the controversy over war guilt is to examine his treatment of the subject. He regards as most important in bringing on the war such basic causes of wars as secret diplomacy, systems of alliances, nationalism, militarism and imperialism. Of these he holds the great contending systems of alliances to have been more influential than any other underlying cause of the outbreak of the World War. Yet Professor Fay does not believe that the war was inevitable, and he very specifically rejects Professor Schmitt's fatalistic interpretation in terms of the unavoidable clash of the opposing alliances. He states the whole setting of the war guilt problem in the following admirable fashion:

The writer of these lines does not believe that the World War was "inevitable." \* \* \* After all, the "system" of alliances was worked by individuals; their personal acts built it up and caused it to explode in 1914. In the discussion of the future, it will be the work of the historian to explain the political, economic and psychological motives which caused these individuals to act as they did. \* \* \* He will continue to discuss the "responsibility" which each statesman must bear for acts which ultimately contributed to the catastrophe. (Vol. I, pp. 2-3, 546.)

In regard to the underlying causes of the World War, Professor Fay wisely agrees that there was divided responsibility. He completely demolishes the frequent assertion of salvagers and timid revisionists to the effect that Germany was primarily responsible for the system of alliances or for militarism in contemporary Europe. As far as the period immediately preceding the war is concerned, Professor Fay does not hesitate to declare his belief that the Triple Entente was a greater menace to European peace than the Triple Alliance. The Triple Alliance was gradually disintegrating, while Germany was acting to restrain the Austrian efforts to curb the Serbian menace. The Triple Entente was becoming stronger and more closely knit, and France, while desiring to keep fully informed concerning Russian policy, was encouraging rather than restraining Slavic ambitions. His general conclusions on the period from 1909 to 1914 are candid and decisive:

While Germany was thus working, on the whole, to restrain Austria and lessen the tension in the Balkans, Russia was actively preparing for the "inevitable" conflict between Slavdom and Germandom, which

would bring about the final realization of Russia's historic mission in regard to Constantinople and the Straits, and incidentally the realization of Serbia's ambition for a "Greater Serbia" at Austria's expense. (Vol. I, p. 406.)

Incidentally, Professor Fay disposes of the contention of Dr. Heinrich Kanner and Professor Schmitt that the "key" to the war guilt problem is to be found in the sinister and secret military convention, alleged to have been arranged between Moltke and Conrad in 1908-9. He shows that such a convention, virtually superseding the diplomatic relations existing between the civil Governments of the two countries, existed only in the imagination of Kanner and Schmitt. (Vol. I, pp. 343-4.)

We have not the space here to summarize Professor Fay's triumphal sweep down the avenue of myths, laying low, one after another, the most respected and treasured contentions of the traditional and official school. This is a task which we must reserve for exuberant exposition in another place. Suffice it to say that, as in his judgment of the period before the war, so in regard to 1914, Professor Fay holds the Entente the more responsible for failure to avert war in the July crisis:

By July 28 Germany had abandoned her hitherto uncompromising attitude, as we shall see later, and really began to attempt to exercise an increasingly strong moderating influence at Vienna; but France and England continued to refrain from restraining Russia, and Russia proceeded to the general mobilization, which she had been warned would make a European war inevitable. (Vol. II, p. 392.)

In other words, in the present book Professor Fay in no way retreats from his decisively revisionist declaration, wherewith he concluded his review of the *Grosse Politik* in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* for December, 1926:

While it is true that Germany, no less than all the other Great Powers, did some things which contributed to produce a situation which ultimately resulted in the World War, it is altogether false to say that she deliberately plotted to bring it about or was solely responsible for it. On the contrary, she worked more effectively than any other Great Power, except England, to avert it, not only in the last days of July, 1914, but also in the years immediately preceding.

#### THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

In a striking and effective chapter (Vol. II, Chap. VIII) Professor Fay takes up the

pivotal Entente thesis that Germany persistently blocked all promising efforts to promote a diplomatic settlement of the crisis, while the Entente warmly supported every such attempt. Professor Fay shows conclusively that Germany refused only one plan, Grey's proposal of a conference at which Austria would be outvoted. France and Russia likewise frowned on this scheme, which had the approval of Italy alone. Germany, however, substituted for the conference expedient direct conversations between Vienna and St. Petersburg, which was Grey's original plan and the one he regarded as the best of all those put forward in 1914. Professor Fay makes it absolutely clear that Germany not only put more restraint on Austria than France and England did on Russia, but that her reaction to diplomatic proposals in 1914 was more favorable than that of any major State save England and Italy. When the test came in 1914, Germany was the only State willing to place in jeopardy the system of alliances in order to preserve peace. This, it would seem to the reviewer, should entitle Germany to stand next to Italy in order of innocence in 1914, England having decided from the beginning of the crisis not to take any step which would threaten the integrity of the Triple Entente, even though by such a stand she would render war inevitable.

Professor Fay reveals at length the amazing rapidity of Russian military preparations after July 23, the extent of Russian military decisions before July 28, the bogus gesture of partial mobilization, the indefensible prematurity of the general mobilization, and the inevitability of a European war once the general mobilization was ordered. He makes it clear that Poincaré encouraged the Russian militarists when at St. Petersburg in July, 1914, that he believed war to be inevitable by the time that he returned to France, that he worked chiefly to speed up the military preparations in France and Russia and to devise diplomatic ruses and gestures, notably the ten-kilometer withdrawal order, to win the support of the British. Professor Fay rejects conclusively the thesis of Poincaré (in *Au Service de la France*, Vol. IV) and Renouvin that France attempted to dissuade Russia from moving ahead with the plans for general mobilization, which she revealed to

France on July 29. As to England, Professor Fay shows that the English authorities decided to take no chances on alienating their partners in the Triple Entente, and that Grey had decided to enter the war on the side of France and Russia before he had learned of the German attitude toward Belgian neutrality.

#### AUSTRIA'S RESPONSIBILITY

While it is impossible to escape the conviction that Professor Fay places the responsibility of the Entente ahead of that of Germany in regard to the precipitation of the war, he regards Austria as having the greatest immediate responsibility among all the Powers. His stand in this regard is entirely inexplicable to the reviewer. One could understand it in a Seton-Watson or a Wickham Steed, but Professor Fay fully accepts the most thorough-going conception of Serbian complicity in the assassination and is scrupulously fair in his statement of the facts regarding Austria. His exposition of the Austro-Serbian *impasse* is the best in the whole war guilt literature and fundamentally far more damaging to Serbia than the caustic strictures of Edith Durham. His severe judgment of Austria is, in any event, not purchased at the price of leniency in his verdict relative to Serbia. In spite of this comprehensive treatment of Serbian guilt, Professor Fay arrives at practically the same judgment of Austria as that which he set forth in 1920, when he constructed his treatment under the aegis of Roderich Gooss. Though Professor Fay now ridicules Gooss's view that "the unsuspecting Emperor William was the sacrificial lamb offered up on the altar of Berchtold's reckless perfidy and obstinacy," the implications of his own treatment are not far removed from Gooss's estimate. And though Professor Fay criticizes certain writers for the "personal devil" interpretation of 1914, his own interpretation of Berchtold certainly falls within this category. In regard to Berchtold he is even willing to accept the estimate of Heinrich Kanner, whose reliability he sagaciously disputes in other respects. While he excuses Poincaré because the latter regarded war as inevitable in 1914, Professor Fay condemns Berchtold chiefly because he entertained the same conviction. Yet Berchtold was only convinced



of the necessity of a local punitive war and abhorred the European war which Poincaré calmly envisaged. The moderate and mild-mannered Lowes Dickinson frankly concedes the justice of the Austrian case: "I do not believe there was a State in existence that would not, under similar circumstances, have determined, as Austria did, to finish the menace, once for all, by war." Especially cogent here also is Professor Langer's sage observation: "Just because Berchtold and his associates hopelessly bungled their case is no reason for blinking the fact that their case was good." We shall not hazard any explanation of Professor Fay's harsh judgment of Austria, but it certainly does not accord with the facts which he presents nor the tone of the remainder of the book.

#### FAY'S POSITION AMONG THE REVISIONISTS

Many will be inclined to hold that Professor Fay's concluding chapter is too brief and inadequate and that he has been over-cautious in his generalizations. Certainly his estimate here of Germany's relation to the British diplomatic proposals does not accord with his detailed treatment of the subject in the eighth chapter of the second volume. Yet he does not fail to pass a decisive judgment on the guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles which is as effective as any blast delivered by the most buoyant and advanced revisionist who has ever assaulted that now venerable falsehood:

One must abandon the dictum of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and her allies were solely responsible. It was a dictum exacted by victors from vanquished, under the influence of the blindness, ignorance, hatred and the propagandist misconceptions to which war had given rise. It was based upon evidence which was incomplete and not always sound. It is generally recognized by the best historical scholars in all countries to be no longer tenable or defensible.

Therefore, as to whether Professor Fay belongs among the bitter-enders, the salvagers or the revisionists, there can no longer be the slightest particle of doubt. The only question is as to just where he stands among the revisionists. In the first place, it must be pointed out that he stands at the head of all the revisionists, who have thus far put their material in print, from the standpoint of scholarly competence as a diplomatic historian and from the standpoint of his mastery and marshalling of the

evidence. While Professor Beazley or Professor Langer may possibly later displace him, as yet Professor Fay is the supreme conventional scholar in the revisionist camp. More difficult would it appear to some to place him precisely among the revisionists as to the degree of revision of the Entente Epic which he would sanction. In tone and in his final conclusions he would have to be classed as a moderate, whereas his facts would place him as a thorough-going, if not extreme, member of the revisionist group. As compared with Victor Margueritte, for example, while the essence of moderation in regard to the tone of his writings, Professor Fay takes a much more advanced stand with respect to the relative innocence of Germany and the Kaiser than does Margueritte. It would seem that, all things considered, Professor Fay would need to be placed with the decisive but benign and amiable revisionists, best exemplified by Gooch, Dickinson, Barbagallo, Ewart, Lutz and Lingelbach, though his work is a more smashing blow for revisionism because of its greater recency and completeness. No impartial reader can, however, doubt that Fay stands much closer to the uncompromising revisionists like Beazley, Demartial, Montgelas, Langer, Schevill, Fabre-Luce, Japikse, Aall, Stieve and Lumbroso than he does to Schmitt, Renouvin, Slosson and others of the salvaging camp. Indeed, he is closer to Bausman than to Renouvin. Of all other writers on the subject Fay most resembles in method, erudition, objectivity and interpretation the German scholar, Hermann Lutz.

We may conclude with an expression of the hope that Professor Fay will soon recover from any feeling of timidity which may depress him, and from any regret that he was unable to please those of his profession who are more interested in preserving their prejudices and *amour-propre* than they are in arriving at accurate historical conceptions. He must recognize that, in the long run, he will be permanently esteemed only by those who share the conviction, which must certainly have guided him during his long and arduous labors on the book, namely, that nothing should be as precious to the historian as truth, clearly conceived and fearlessly expressed.

# The Return of Venizelos to Power In Greece

By ADAMANTIOS T. POLYZOIDES

EDITOR OF *Atlantis*, GREEK DAILY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK

THE general election in Greece in August, 1928, resulted in 225 Liberals being returned, as against 24 of the united Opposition of Populists, Progressives, Free Opinion Party and Pangalists, 21 seats going to the Popular Party, while the Progressives and the others obtained a single seat each.

Judged from all sides, this election was an even more complete defeat of the anti-Venizelist forces than any one had anticipated. Mr. P. Tsaldaris, leader of the Populists, won by a narrow margin in Corinth, while Mr. Cafandaris, former lieutenant of Mr. Venizelos, and leader of the Progressive Liberals, was the only one elected in his district. General Metaxas, leader of the moderate Party of Free Opinion, who had more than 40 seats in the last Chamber, was defeated in Cephalonia, only a single partisan of his winning in Thessaly. Pangalos, the picturesque Dictator, who has won more headlines in the foreign press than any other of the men who have held power in Greece in the last six years, but who has remained something of a joke in Greek eyes, was also defeated, although one of his partisans managed to get himself elected in Megara.

This unexpected result of the election was due to many factors. To gain a clear idea of what happened in Greece on Aug. 19, 1928, it is necessary to bear in mind the following facts.

The last six years from September, 1922, to this day, had not produced a single leader able to win the public confidence. Deprived of the services of Venizelos, its leader, the Liberal Party fell into evil days, military leaders of the type of Plasteras, Pangalos, or Condylis and politicians of the calibre of Mr. Cafandaris, Michalacopoulos, Sofoulis or Papanastassiou, obtaining temporarily that popularity and prestige which seemed to have been the monopoly of their leader. In other words, the Greek Liberal Party, having raised Mr. Venizelos to the

status of a demi-god, suffered the same fate as the American Democratic Party after the loss of Woodrow Wilson.

The Opposition fared even worse than the Liberals. With King Constantine dead, and his son King George forced to abdicate the throne, with three of their most brilliant leaders, Gounaris, Stratos and Protopapadakis killed by a firing squad in 1922, and three other distinguished members of their Cabinets, Theotokis, Baltazis and General Hadjanestis, suffering the same fate, the anti-Venizelist forces had to effect their regrouping under new leaders, who were not prepared for the task. General John Metaxas soon after 1922 organized a new anti-Venizelist party which was to be known as the Free Opinion Party. However, the transition from a military to a political leader was not an easy one for Mr. Metaxas, and following the abortive counter-revolution of 1923, which was attributed to him, the position of his new party became very difficult. Nevertheless, in the general election of 1926 the Party of Free Opinion managed to win 44 seats in a total of 286, and more than held its own in the formation of the coalition Cabinets of 1927 and 1928.

## ATTEMPT AT REPUBLICANISM

Mr. Metaxas held to the belief that after the death of King Constantine, and the dethronement of King George II in 1923, the Constitutional Monarchy in Greece was done for, and he tried to organize his party along new, frankly Republican lines. In this he was baffled by the old Gounarist or Popular Party, which, under the statesmanlike leadership of Dr. P. Tsaldaris, made an issue of the Monarchy in the elections of 1926, thereby carrying 70 seats under the system of proportional representation, then for the first time applied in Greece. It will be seen that the 44 seats of Mr. Metaxas, combined with the 70 of Mr. Tsaldaris, and the support of nearly 25 other independents

who favored the restoration of the Constitutional Monarchy, comprised an Opposition bloc of nearly 140 votes in the Chamber, against 136 Venizelists; the latter, however, were strengthened by 10 Communists, who stood for the Republic, as against the Monarchy, and furthermore the 25 Royalist Independents would not cooperate with the parties of Mr. Tsaldaris or Mr. Metaxas except on their own terms, which were high.

This situation made the formation of a Coalition Cabinet imperative throughout 1927 and the first half of 1928. Some good work was accomplished under the joint efforts of Messrs. Cafandaris, Michalakopoulos, Papanastassiou, Tsaldaris and Metaxas, the best sign of the new situation being the obliteration of the bitter animosities between Venizelists and anti-Venizelists. Yet as a whole, the Chamber fell short of the expectations of the nation. The second and the third Coalition Cabinets, in which neither Mr. Tsaldaris nor Mr. Papanastassiou participated, did not materially advance the interests of the country, and this cooperation between the most moderate sections of the Venizelist and anti-Venizelist camps was destroying the sense of individual responsibility of each of the cooperation parties, and leaving the country in the hands of a bi-partisan grouping which was becoming supreme.

It was under such circumstances that Mr. Venizelos made his dramatic return into the arena of Greek politics late last June. Like Ulysses, as recently portrayed in *Punch*, he began by clearing the field of the many lovers of Penelope, which in this instance was the Government of Greece. He deposed his lieutenant Cafandaris, and reassumed the leadership of the Liberal Party, and this new political move, of striking both against partisan and foe, for the sake of the country, won for him the instant approval of the nation.

#### NEED FOR A STRONG MAN

In a country so bitterly, and at times, so savagely torn between Venizelists and anti-Venizelists, this sudden popularity of Mr. Venizelos was little short of miraculous. Yet this change is easily explained by the fact that the Greek people wanted a strong Government under a strong leader, and all

the political parties of the country having failed to provide one in the course of the last six years, Mr. Venizelos again became the only man available, thus repeating the history of 1909, when he was first called from his native Crete to give Greece a new kind of leadership and Government. Mr. Venizelos had his faults, and he had made many mistakes; he was even saddled with the terrible responsibility of the sextuple killing of the Opposition leaders, away back in November, 1922, and yet, in spite of it all, there seemed no one else to be able to take his place at this particular time. So Greece, on Aug. 19, 1928, chose to put an end to the past, and to give a new lease of life to the veteran Liberal leader.

The unconstitutional and almost revolutionary way in which he eliminated the last Zaimis Ministry, the arbitrary fashion in which he changed the electoral system in a way favorable to his victory, and the boldness with which he made his dramatic comeback to the political stage of Greece, would make an interesting chapter in the recent political history of Greece. However, the practical value of this study would be very slight, following the result of the last election. Such an overwhelming verdict of the Greek people as Mr. Venizelos secured in the election of the 19th of August made short work of the constitutional technicalities incidental to his assumption of power. Divided leadership among his opponents, a lack of any constructive program and bitter feuds among the anti-Venizelist politicians of many localities where anti-Venizelism was considered "safe" beyond the shadow of a doubt, made the Liberals victorious in such unexpected places, for instance, as the Peloponnesus.

Mr. Venizelos became Premier on July 4, 1928, and having consolidated his position through the August election he turned his attention to the many and pressing needs of the country. Throughout the past six years, from 1922 on, the several Cabinets that had taken over power had not succeeded in stabilizing either the political or economic status of the country. Nevertheless, since the elections of November, 1926, and the creation of the coalition Cabinets of 1927, a constant effort had been made by the immediate predecessors of Mr. Venizelos to change conditions for the better. Public



revenues showed signs of improvement, the budget was on the point of being balanced for the first time in many years, the drachma as a monetary unit was stabilized at the rate of nearly 77 to the dollar, some public improvements of the utmost importance, like the building of an extensive network of highways, were approved at an estimated cost of over \$6,000,000, the assistance of the League of Nations was sought and secured, both for the settlement of the Asia Minor refugees and the financial reorganization of the country, and a number of other measures were adopted. Nevertheless Mr. Venizelos felt that his immediate predecessors, in all their dealings with the main problems of the country, had made costly blunders, and his decision to return to politics was attributed by him to the fact that his followers who had managed the affairs of Greece since September, 1922, had made a mess of it.

He declared that the settlement of the war debts of Greece to Great Britain and France imposed too heavy a burden on the country's finances, he accused the coalition Cabinets of "almost having sold" the country to foreign interests by the granting of several one-sided concessions to various financial groups, and he finally assailed the hasty stabilization of the drachma on terms that offered no advantage to Greece. In this last connection Mr. Venizelos indirectly disapproved of the rôle played by the Financial Commission of the League of Nations in establishing foreign control over the chief banking establishment of the country. In the matter of external policy, Mr. Venizelos accused his predecessors of having brought about the isolation of the country, just at a time when Greece needed the friendship and the confidence of all, and especially of her neighbors.

#### THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

On assuming the Premiership Mr. Venizelos found the country in the throes of a serious financial situation, with the expense side of the national ledger much higher than that of revenues. He found an adverse trade balance and general discontent against the easy way in which the Chamber of 1926, and the coalition Governments issuing therefrom, were dealing with the most pressing problems of the country.

In the regular course of things Mr. Venizelos, in his effort to "clear up the mess," would have started from the inside and would have devoted all his time and energy to the settlement of the internal difficulties of the country. Instead of this, he turned his attention to the foreign affairs of Greece, allowing the domestic ones to be attended to later on. In the opinion of the Opposition the former course would have been better, on the ground that if she were internally stronger Greece could hope to present a better front to the other nations with whom she had to deal. To this argument Mr. Venizelos replied that only after securing external peace could he devote all his efforts to the many and intricate problems connected with the internal affairs of the country. Not being the man to change his views at the instance of a greatly weakened Opposition, Mr. Venizelos started on his flying trip to Rome, Paris and London, eventually reaching Belgrade.

The 23d of September found him in Rome, signing a pact of friendship and arbitration with Mr. Mussolini. Mr. Venizelos explained that the pact was the culmination of a fifteen-year effort to bring about closer relations between Greece and Italy. In further setting forth his views to the Greek press Mr. Venizelos said, as reported by the *Eleftheron Vima* of Athens:

Ever since the Balkan War of 1913 I refused to do anything that might hurt the legitimate interests of Italy in the Adriatic. Thus I stopped the Greek troops, which, after occupying Jannina, were proceeding to Vallona early in 1913. When the Powers by the Protocol of Florence allotted to Albania what we claimed as our territory of Northern Epirus, I again withdrew the Greek troops from that territory. When Prince William of Wied was dethroned by the Albanians in 1914, in order to preserve peace in Albania and in common agreement with all the Powers, the Greek troops occupied Northern Epirus, while Italy occupied Vallona and the island of Sasseno, at the entrance of the Gulf of Vallona. \* \* \* There is no such question as the Dodecanese between Greece and Italy, following the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. In the same way there is no question between Greece and Great Britain with regard to Cyprus. Those are issues solely affecting the Dodecanesians and the Cypriotes, and the Governments of Italy and Great Britain. Our pact with the Italian Government provides for the widest measure of arbitration of all eventual disputes. Switzerland is the only country with which Italy has a similar treaty. Our pact is extremely pacific, and no one need fear anything from its operation.

Mussolini's view was best explained in a toast offered by the Italian Premier in honor of Mr. Venizelos at a banquet to celebrate the signature of the Pact:

The Italian Government fully realizes the importance of the Greek factor in the Eastern Mediterranean, and follows with the greatest interest the Greek effort for the consolidation of its position. Our pact could not possibly meet with objection from any quarter, because the only thing it does is to strengthen the ties of all peoples having a common interest in the Eastern Mediterranean.

#### SEEKING FRENCH APPROVAL

The Greek Premier arrived in Paris on the 26th of September, and on the following day he had a long interview with Mr. Briand, Foreign Minister of France. Although the tenor of these conversations was not officially divulged, it became known that the Greek Premier had explained to the French Government the nature of the Greco-Italian Pact, and had expressed his desire to sign a similar document with the Yugoslav Government, whose alliance with France is well known. It also became known that France had been satisfied with the statements of Mr. Venizelos, and had offered to help in the conclusion of any treaty of alliance between Athens and Belgrade. The presence in Paris during that time of the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Dr. Marinovich, further helped Mr. Venizelos in his efforts to arrange matters with Yugoslavia.

After an interview with Premier Poincaré of France, Mr. Venizelos left Paris on Sept. 30, and on Oct. 1 he was in London paying a visit to Premier Stanley Baldwin of Great Britain and the acting Foreign Secretary, Lord Cushendun. In his statements to the press Mr. Venizelos explained that his visit to London was made with the object of reassuring the British Government as to the real meaning of the Greco-Italian pact, and further to explain the main lines of his foreign as well as his domestic policy. It nevertheless became known that Mr. Venizelos had other things in mind when he visited Paris and London, his object being to survey the ground in connection with his efforts to improve the financial situation of Greece. Whether the Greek Premier succeeded in securing from France and Great Britain any promise of tangible support has not been divulged. What we know, however, is this: that Mr. Venizelos would be highly grati-

fied if he succeeded in obtaining a revision of the debt settlements effected with Great Britain and France, and also if he could secure from those two quarters some promise of support in his dealings with the Financial Commission of the League of Nations. In other words, Greece needing new loans for productive purposes, and the Financial Commission of the League, in its rôle as supervisor of Hellenic Finances, refusing to grant its permission, Mr. Venizelos tried to secure the good offices of Great Britain and France in order to get the League Commission to change its views and withdraw its objections to the floating of a new loan.

Leaving London on Oct. 2, Mr. Venizelos took the train from Paris and, traversing Switzerland, arrived in Belgrade on the 9th, traveling leisurely and breaking his journey on the way.

The Yugoslav Government, the press and the public gave the Greek Premier a rousing reception, inasmuch as the day of his arrival in the capital coincided with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the creation of the Yugoslav triune State. Negotiations with the Yugoslav Government began immediately, and on the 11th a preliminary pact was signed between Mr. Venizelos and the acting Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Mr. Shumenkovich. This new agreement gave Yugoslavia all the necessary commercial facilities through the port of Saloniki, while preserving the full sovereignty of Greece over that city. The mutual agreements of 1923 and 1926 were used as the basis for the pact. On Nov. 1 the permanent text of the pact was signed in Belgrade by Mr. Shumenkovich and the Greek Minister, Mr. Polychroniades.

#### DETAILS OF PACT WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. Venizelos, in explaining the workings of this pact, said to the representatives of the press in Belgrade:

We have reached a settlement of our outstanding disagreements with Yugoslavia. This is a continuation of my policy which began in Rome, and which will be continued further in regard to Turkey and Bulgaria. We are willing to give Bulgaria every facility in her commerce through Saloniki, under the same terms accorded to Yugoslavia, without, however, creating a Bulgarian zone, because we cannot divide the port of Saloniki into zones. The Treaty of Neuilly has set aside the harbor of Dedegach for the commercial needs of Bulgaria.

That harbor, however, offers no advantages to Bulgarian commerce. Of this I have been assured by a Bulgarian who showed me, map in hand, that Bulgaria would be much better off if she utilized the port of Bourgas on the Black Sea, instead of sinking millions of dollars into the creation of a port at Dedeagach.

In connection with the above activities, the Greek Premier received from the Turk-

a narrow interpretation of the term *établis* which means those legally settled there before November, 1918. Negotiations for the settlement of both these difficulties are proceeding, and on Nov. 1 Turkey seemed satisfied to accept only £200,000 in settlement of her original claims, while at the same time she showed a willingness to ac-



The Parliament Building, Athens

Ewing Galloway

ish Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, repeated invitations to go to Angora for the settlement of the outstanding Greco-Turkish difficulties, and the conclusion of a pact. It was understood that Italy was behind this plan. Mr. Venizelos promised to do so as soon as the preliminaries for such a meeting could be arranged. The main difficulty lying in the path of a Greco-Turkish pact is the Turkish demand for £500,000 sterling, alleged to represent the value of Turkish estates seized by the Greek Government in Greek territory for the use of the Asia Minor refugees. This amount, according to the Turkish point of view, is far above the value of Greek properties seized by the Turkish Government in Turkey following the exchange of populations.

In the second place, Turkey demands the departure of more than half the present Greek population of Constantinople through

cept the Greek interpretation of the term *établis*.

On the same day, Nov. 1, it was announced from Tirana that three special conventions had been signed between the Governments of Albania and Greece, regulating the status of the Albanian citizens in Greece and the Greek citizens in Albania. The conventions also indemnified those Albanian nationals whose property on Greek territory had been seized, on the ground that it belonged to Albanian-Turkish subjects, and had therefore been included in the class of exchangeable properties. Another convention was signed between the two Governments regarding the extradition of criminals, which facilitated the extermination of banditry which, owing to the unsettled political conditions in both countries in the last few years, has played havoc in Greece.

On the 14th of October Mr. Venizelos re-



turned to Greece, and on the 19th the newly elected Parliament of Aug. 19 convened in regular session. There once more the overwhelming power of the Government was demonstrated, when the Government candidate for Speaker received 170 votes against 11 given to the Opposition, with a dozen more scattered among various secondary candidates. On the 22d Mr. Venizelos read in the Chamber his long-awaited statement as to the result of his trip abroad, and received the unanimous approval of the National body.

On Nov. 1, in the Bulgarian city of Varna, the local police, in cooperation with Greek police officials sent there for the purpose, arrested the two notorious Greek bandits, the Rentzaioi brothers, who, after committing nearly a hundred murders and assassinations in various parts of Greece, had made their escape to Bulgaria, where they settled, disguised as grain merchants. This arrest assumed something more than a purely local character, when the two criminals confessed that they were the authors of the crime perpetrated on the border line of Greece and Albania in August, 1923. This was the murder of the Italian boundary commission under General Tellini, which had been sent there by authority of the League of Nations. The crime resulted in the Corfu incident, which almost started a new war in Europe.

#### GREECE INTERNATIONALLY ESTABLISHED

In concluding this historical narrative of the recent events in Greece, it is apparent that, internationally speaking, the position of that country is better than at any time since 1922, when the military revolution took place. Greece is at peace with her neighbors, and a Balkan Locarno, including all the countries of the peninsula, as well as Turkey, is an imminent possibility. Relations between Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania and Bulgaria have seldom been better. Even Turkey is showing a desire to let bygones be bygones and to turn over a new leaf.

The internal problems of Greece are much more difficult of solution than the external ones. Mr. Venizelos, with all his power, must engage in a gigantic work of reorganization, in the course of which he will be forced to part with some of his old friends

who have ceased to be an asset. Notwithstanding all the loans negotiated abroad in the last six years, Greece needs more capital in order to exploit her resources, and to increase the productivity of the country. According to the agreement signed with the Financial Commission of the League of Nations, the Greek budget must under no circumstances go over 9,000,000,000 drachmas, which is nearly \$117,000,000. It must be taken into account that two-thirds of the entire Greek budget are taken up by interest on the public debt and by the army and navy estimates. What is left is not enough for the development of the resources of the country. A policy of economy becomes more and more imperative. This could be accomplished by the abolition of many services, and the wholesale dismissal of many Government employes. In a strongly bureaucratic country such a procedure is sure to shake the popularity of Venizelos. Imposition of new taxes is another sure way of making the Government unpopular. Mr. Venizelos knows the difficulties he has to struggle with. It will be worth while to follow him.

The old anti-Venizelist Opposition is so demoralized at the present time that any possibility of a comeback must be excluded from the field of practical politics. The question of the return of that régime must be considered as duly dead and buried. Neither attachment to the Dynasty nor continuation of the personal opposition to Eleutherios Venizelos can at the present time save the Opposition. Mr. Venizelos will have absolute freedom to deal as he pleases with both friend and foe. He will organize the Senate, elect its members, bring about the Constitution of the Council of State and finally elect the President of the Republic. His main problem will remain the restoration of economy in the Government of Greece. His economic and social legislation will show to what extent a War Premier can maintain his position as a Peace Organizer. The new Opposition of Greece will not be made out of the remnants of the old order; on the contrary it will take the shape and the form of a new group of men with more progressive ideas than Mr. Venizelos. But it will be some time before such an Opposition is formed and ready to take the helm.

# Ahmed Zogu, "King of the Albanians"

By NELO DRIZARI  
AN ALBANIAN JOURNALIST

ALBANIA recently changed its form of government from a Republic to a Monarchy and proclaimed Ahmed Zogu, the former President of the Republic, as "King of the Albanians." The magnetic personality of the new King electrified the whole country, and his elevation to the throne caused a stir in the diplomatic circles of Europe. The swift rise of Ahmed Zogu to the highest and most honored position in Albania lends color and romance to a stirring chapter in modern events.

The Albanians over whom Zogu rules have as dramatic a past as has their new King. Zogu himself at the age of 15 succeeded his father as Chief of the Mati mountaineers in North Albania. Both he and his people descend from an Aryan race, the Pelasgi, who were probably the first inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. Later in history they were known as Illyrians, Macedonians, or Epirotes. They call themselves *Shqipetare*, their land *Shqiperia*, and their language *Shqipe*, all terms which have been derived from *Shqipe* or *Shqiponj*, meaning eagle. For centuries the mountain eagle and the Albanian have been faithful companions. They have been on the defense against the successive invasions of Gauls, Romans, Slavs, Germans, Venetians and Turks. The eagle has always been on the Albanian flag as a symbol of power and unity.

With the death of King Scanderbeg, 1467, the wings of the traditional eagle were clipped by the conquest of the Turks, and Europe was deprived of a champion defender. Consequently, many Albanian leaders embraced the Mohammedan faith, and thus retained the right to rule over Albania themselves. In this way they not only made Turkish domination over Albania nominal, but also became viziers, generals, ambassadors and bodyguards of the Sultans. Even the Red Sultan of Turkey trusted his Albanian bodyguards, whose

sacred *besa*, or word of honor, had become proverbial.

But the Albanians lost faith in empty Turkish promises, and in 1912 fought themselves out of the Ottoman Empire. Once more the wings of the traditional eagle were unfurled at Valona on Nov. 28, 1912. From that time to the advent of Zogu, Albania passed through many a hectic storm. Internal strife between the local Beys, or landowners, during the ensuing two years forced Albanian leaders to go in quest of a foreign King. In 1914 Albania became a Kingdom, which served as a buffer State between Austria and Italy, and Prince William of Wied was sent by the Great Powers to be their "water-boy" King. But he failed dismally in his attempt to rule over the Albanians. Instead of becoming one of them, he tried to rule them by such methods as throwing showers of paltry coins from the windows of his palace. He showed utter ignorance of internal affairs and became the puppet of Essad Pasha, uncle of King Zogu. Essad's intrigues and power forced King Wied to desert Albania in September, 1914. While the former King found refuge in Germany, Essad Pasha became the self-styled "President of Albania." He was opposed by his political adversary, Ismail Bey Kemali, the man who was chiefly responsible for Albania's independence in 1912.

Turmoil and civil wars followed in Albania during the World War. The Allied and Austrian armies used her for strategic purposes, and created three separate independent States under military rule. This state of affairs continued till after the Peace Conference. Then events in Albania took a favorable turn, due to the foresight of President Wilson, whose stand for Albanian independence encouraged Albanian leaders to form a new government in 1920.

At this time a dramatic personality emerged into national prominence. He was Ahmed Zogu, a princely youth of 26. Albanian leaders gathered at Lushnia in 1920,

to draw up a Constitution for a provisional Government. But their lives were in danger, due to the presence of the Italian army of occupation, whose orders were to suppress any national movement. Zogu was there as a delegate, but he had with him his deadly sharpshooters from Mati. He at once pledged himself to protect the Congress even at the cost of his own life. He won their admiration for his bravery, and they proceeded without fear to create the Regency which lasted to 1925.

Thus Zogu's political star emerged from obscurity. His rôle became almost Graustarkian, and he climbed the ladder of fame and power with bewildering swiftness. From 1921 to 1924 Zogu became Minister of Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister. But he was destined to reach even greater heights.

Zogu risked his life on three more occasions, thus increasing his popularity. Armed forces at Tirana in 1923 threatened to overthrow the Government. While others fled, or hid themselves behind closed shutters, Zogu rode in the open amid whistling bullets and restored order with a handful of inspired soldiers.

The same year an uprising broke out in North Albania. Soldiers had not as much faith in other Generals as they had in Zogu. So Zogu led his loyal army, and quelled the abortive revolt. On his return, a demented young student met Zogu at the entrance of the Parliament building and fired at him, wounding him in the arm. Zogu calmly saved the boy from the angry crowd, and handed him over to the gendarmes with specific orders not to harm him; then nonchalantly mounted the platform and began to speak on affairs of State, thus averting a clash between suspicious rival factions.

But Zogu's quick rise was suddenly halted by a political crisis which had the most serious consequences. His chief political rival, Bishop Fan S. Noli, an eminent Albanian who had been graduated at Harvard University, launched a mysterious but successful revolution in June, 1924, and held the fate of Albania in his hands. Zogu, in order to avoid a civil war, fled to Yugoslavia with 800 of his most loyal soldiers.

In achieving his desired end, Bishop Noli gave wild promises to the army and to his

chief supporters. In his new rôle as Chief Executive of Albania, he was expected to fulfill his pre-revolution promises. He was expected to solve the agrarian problem, but his solution did not prove practical. Then Noli took a step which proved a fatal blunder. He went before the League of Nations and pleaded for a loan to Albania; but his manner of asking for the loan showed utter lack of diplomatic tact and offended some of the members. He blundered again, when, after he had failed to secure the desired loan, he asked Soviet Russia to recognize Albania. The Soviet Government lost no time in doing so, and promptly sent to Tirana, capital of Albania, an envoy with six secretaries who planned to use Tirana as the centre of Soviet propaganda in the Balkans. Noli's change of policy was looked upon with suspicion by Albania, as well as by Italy and England. Fascist Italy across the Adriatic and conservative England would not allow Bolshevism in the Balkans. Moreover, 95 per cent. of the population of Albania owned property; they were reluctant to submit to Noli's radical experiment. Unrest, discontent and revolt prevailed. Noli's political drama failed. He made his exit in haste.

#### TRIUMPHANT RETURN FROM EXILE

Meanwhile, Zogu, having followed the trend of events closely, crossed the Serbo-Albanian border in December, 1924, and made his triumphant entry overnight at the head of his small army which had followed him into exile. In allowing Zogu to enter Albania, Serbia paid an old debt which dated back to the World War when Albania gave succor to the demoralized Serbian armies. Instead of encountering opposition, Zogu was hailed in Albania as the champion of law and order.

Again Zogu came into his own. Once more the army, which had supported Noli six months before, accepted Zogu as its leader. Zogu, on his return, sent word to the Prefects of the provinces that he would hold them responsible for any disorders. As soon as the country calmed down Zogu caused the election of the Constituent Assembly, which declared Albania a Republic in January, 1925, and elected Zogu by acclamation the first President.

As President, Zogu was cautious not to



repeat the blunders of King Wied or Bishop Noli. He studied the psychology and wants of his sturdy Albanians. He won the support of the strongest tribes, the tribes which had fought the Turks and fought King Wied. These tribes, which had never paid taxes to the Turks, now began to pay taxes to the Zogu Government; furthermore they relinquished their arms, placing faith in Zogu's pledge of honor.

Through his drastic measures and his strong penchant for law and order, Zogu won also the support of the Beys. The Beys of Albania have been too proud to unite under another Bey. They have waged war against each other like the barons of medieval England. The iron hand of Zogu, his unimpeachable *besa*, directed them toward a national union; they accepted Zogu as their leader. In reaching this goal, however, Zogu has been the magnet rather than the steamroller. In this way he gave ample proof that his chief objective was to put Albania on a par with other civilized nations. He achieved a united nation.

But the peak of Zogu's ambition was reached last August when he was proclaimed King of the Albanians, the culmination of a colorful career, which during the last decade has fired the imagination of every Albanian schoolboy and girl. Since Mehmet Ali, a poor Albanian from Koritza, went to become Viceroy of Egypt, Albania has not produced as great a man as Ahmed Zogu.

The new King is a progressive aristocrat who believes in the gradual, natural development of his country, as contrasted with his former political rival, Fan Noli, who believes in radical changes. Besides being a genius in the practical politics of Albania, Zogu is well equipped also with historical knowledge, having acquired his education in Vienna, Albania and Constantinople. He is essentially a Western man, with a strong leaning toward law and order, and a belief in lawful, rather than unlawful means of settling difficulties. But he has no sympathy with lawbreakers, and criminals are hung in the public square as an example. Zogu discourages the practice of feuds, and has introduced a law against such primitive practices. His paramount objective is to modernize Albania.

Ahmed Zogu's rise to the throne of Al-

bania is in keeping with the psychology of the people. In Albania the *King* idea has taken deep root. No President can fill the place of King Pyrrhus, King Alexander the Great or King Scanderbeg. These Kings, according to tradition, were Albanians. It is the same sort of tradition as that which prevents a President of the United States from being re-elected for the third time.

No doubt other very strong reasons caused the change. In order to insure a stable government Zogu believes that there must be one symbol of unity, unhampered by party affiliations. A President, especially in Albania, is under party obligations. But the King is impartial to all factions, and concerns himself with the welfare of the nation as a whole. Today, as is the case in England, the King is the impartial skipper of the "Ship of State." Besides, the people have not had the same educational background as the voters in the United States, despite the fact that pure democracy is still prevalent in the towns and villages of Albania.

#### LOANS FROM ITALY

But the dominating cause of the change is traced back to the 50,000,000 lira loan Albania procured from Italy in 1925. As a guarantee Albania pledged the customs receipts. The National Bank of Albania is the child of this loan, and has a board of control composed of Italians and Albanians, with the latter in the minority. Albania has rich natural resources, and the Bank has practically no competition in the banking field or in real estate. The contract granted to the Bank was signed by Mufid Lubohova, who was at the time Albanian Minister of Interior. He left Albania in haste just before he was found guilty of unpatriotic activities.

In close connection with this loan followed another factor: The Italo-Albanian Treaty of Tirana in 1926. This treaty was received with jubilation in Albania and with suspicion in Europe, especially in Paris and Belgrade. The Tirana "pact of friendship and security" put Albania on a par with other civilized nations, in that for the first time she signed a treaty with another nation, notably one of the major Powers, on a basis of equality. A similar pact between Albania and Greece is pending.

Now in order to pay the debt and in order to keep Italian armies out of Albania, there must be, above all else, two things: a stable Government and a balanced budget. To attain these two objectives there must reign internal peace and prosperity in Albania. Zogu is the first Albanian ruler to achieve these purposes. As for internal peace, it is a matter of record that in the past, vendettas and brigandage were rife and were encouraged by the Sultan's Government. But today even fiction writers in quest of such thrills would be disappointed. The whole country is pacified and law-abiding. Zogu is responsible for the change. And with respect to prosperity, he is working toward this by the building of schools, roads and bridges, and by improving the conditions of agriculture and commerce.

As King, Zogu has the support of all Albania. This fact was demonstrated especially on the 12th of September, last, when

the standard bearers of all the tribes of North Albania and the leaders of all the religious sects went to Tirana to pledge their loyalty to their native King. Even the Albanians of America, of whom there are about 60,000, sent cables of felicitations. Moreover, he cooperates with the most influential leaders, chief among whom is Faik Konitza, Minister of Albania in the United States. It would not be surprising if Zogu and his old opponent, Fan Noli, buried the political hatchet, provided, of course, that Noli becomes a loyal supporter of Zogu's policies.

Meanwhile New Albania, a country of almost 1,000,000 people, is headed toward a bright future under its new King. The world is watching the young ruler who has already achieved so much for his country; and there are many international observers today who believe that this little Balkan nation, under King Zogu, is entering a new era.

## Religious Teaching in the German Schools

By PAUL D. MILLER

BERLIN STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF *The New York Times*

WITH the separation of Church and State in Germany, as effected by the Weimar Constitution, the question of religious training in the public schools has become a political, as well as a religious issue. Both the Catholics and the Protestants are endeavoring to regain their former power in the educational system, and their cause is being championed by the strong Nationalists and strategically powerful Catholic Centrist Parties. The republican school system does not deprive pupils of religious teaching, but it has taken the control of that instruction from the hands of the clergy and placed it under State supervision. To this both the Catholics and Protestants object. Their effort to regain their former sovereignty over religious training is being opposed by the Socialists, Communists, Democrats and

Peoples Party, all of whom desire to maintain the gulf between the Church and State provided for in the republican charter.

The Weimar Constitution is a series of compromises. Its school system is not an exception to the rule. The struggle was so keen at the time of its framing that the authors took only a few steps toward their ideal and then left the rest of the burden to later legislation. That legislation has never become a fact. One Government—the third Marx Cabinet—fell on this issue through the opposition of the People's Party, then a member of the bourgeois coalition.

In the present school system all children are obliged to attend a *Grundschule* (elementary school) between the ages of 6 and 10. This law applies to everybody, regardless of rank or station, and was framed as

a means of enforcing democracy in the State. Here the scions of rich industrialists, powerful politicians, famed writers, must sit side by side with the offspring of lowly toilers, and for four years be in constant association. Formerly Germany's compulsory school system permitted children to attend recognized private institutions or even permitted home tutoring.

#### DECISION LEFT TO THE PARENTS

In the *Grundschule* there is religious instruction if the parents desire it. Certain periods are set aside for religious training, and the Catholics and Protestants are given separate rooms. But the instructors are appointed by the State, a point which is causing most of the controversy. Demure sisters in flowing robes or kindly priests in sober cassocks no longer teach the catechism of Catholic faith, nor do stately ministers instruct youths in doctrines of Luther. In addition to losing this influence the Church argues with reason that it is difficult to interest children in the saints while the children whose parents are opposed to religious instruction shout and play in the school yards.

The next stage in education is attendance for four further years, from the ages of 10 to 14, at the elementary school proper, the upper division of the *Volksschule*, or people's school. This is the finishing school for children who learn a trade after completion of their fourteenth year, and who until their eighteenth year obtain further instruction, apart from their practical activities, in the continuation schools. Religious instruction is optional with the parents in these schools also.

Among the demands of the religious sects

are confessional schools, and there is every likelihood that such a compromise will be made as a solution to the problem. In communities where there is a sufficiently large number of pupils to warrant such divisions, the Government is making no objections. In industrial centres where there are large numbers of Communists and Socialists who oppose religious instruction, separate schools will be provided to meet these demands. At the present time, however, Germany's economic condition does not warrant this expenditure. Besides requiring a larger overhead in the form of additional teachers, many more buildings would be necessary. The sums necessary to put the new system on its feet would require many millions of marks and three-fourths of the burden would fall on the shoulders of the communities themselves.

There is also a well-founded fear that separate schools would defeat one of the aims of democracy by creating antagonism between various schools. Pupils of the non-religious schools would soon be regarded as belonging to the workers' class, those of the Protestant schools as Junkers. The leveling process hoped for by the framers of the Constitution will be better served by having the whole of the nation's youth under one roof.

How the question will be solved is difficult to predict. Though a religious issue, it must be ground out in the political mill. However, no compromise is contemplated which will restore the Church to its former power in the educational system. Confessional schools may be created, but it is doubtful whether their control will be again placed in the hands of the clergy.

Berlin.





# Australia's Leading State Rejects Prohibition

By ERNEST OSBORNE

AUSTRALIA'S most populous State, New South Wales, and the Commonwealth's smallest member, the Federal Territory, on Sept. 1 each took a liquor referendum. In the State referendum the result mattered very much. In the Territory there were no vested powerful interests, for there the sale, though not consumption, of intoxicating beverages was prohibited. Liquor could be brought in and drunk in the Territory, creating in Canberra, Australia's newly established capital, a thriving trade in empty bottles. In New South Wales the question to be decided was simple and direct. "Are you in favor of prohibition with compensation?" the ballot paper asked.

This prohibition campaign was notable for the incidental publicity accorded the United States. Nearly every falsehood and half-truth ever published about prohibition; everything that could be construed into condemnation of prohibition and its alleged failure in the United States, inadequately countered by glimmerings of truth, glared from news sheets and journals, propaganda papers and pamphlets; and the imaginary evils of prohibition were portrayed on large posters. Articles from American magazines and newspapers were quoted, and the inescapable horrors of prohibition were assiduously lectured upon.

Never very correctly informed about the United States and its people, Australians, and the people of New South Wales particularly, were asked to visualize the United States as a country where the majority of the people, but specifically the boys and the girls, are alcoholic degenerates, and to believe that it is easier to buy alcohol than a cup of coffee in American cities; that clandestine distilling of liquor is the principal industry, followed in importance by rum-running and bootlegging. If one set of figures circulated in Australia is correct, a steady traffic of trainloads of liquor must be in progress from Canada into the

United States. Australians were also told deaths from wood alcohol and other bad brews are "frightfully prevalent." In America bootleggers would seem so numerous that the police cannot catch a single one. Every hospital is steadily adding "alcoholic wards" to cope with the demand. Throughout America revolver duels between bootleggers and officers of the law are incessant, and seem to be the principal form of public entertainment. Every American is against prohibition and also in favor of it. Such was the substance of much propaganda during the referendum campaign. At the same time leading newspapers refused to accept for publication, except in the form of letters, accounts of the successful aspect of prohibition in the United States. But these sheets devoted space for statements about the terrors of prohibition in America, made by returned Australian visitors, and how easily they obtained liquor—with never a reprimand, if the assertions were true, for deliberately breaking the laws of the country they had visited, or rebuke if the stories were untrue.

The battle was fought, on the one side by the Liquor Trades Defense Union of New South Wales, whose name explains itself, augmented by the Citizens' Rights and Liquor Reform Association, with almost limitless resources, and on the other side by the Prohibition Alliance, under the leadership for the most part of Protestant clergymen. Backed by great wealth derived from the liquor trade, the Defense Union campaigned systematically, regardless of expense. Apart from their campaign paper, various pamphlets and brochures, its press propaganda was direct and terse. Most newspapers in the State carried half, full and double page attention-compelling advertisements urging the voters to beware of prohibition. Not only did this warning and advice stare the public in the face everywhere, but in their editorial and news columns almost every paper condemned prohibition. The efforts of the

Citizens' Rights Association mattered little either way. Whatever its composition, for acquisition of propaganda (and presumably salary) funds, it appealed for contributions. It was, perhaps, merely one of the many "causes" which, fathered by individuals when opportunity permits, thrive amazingly in Australia.

The Prohibitionists, who, logically, should have been the attacking force, were from the start put upon the defensive. While their enemies tersely limned the horrors and disadvantages of prohibition, the Prohibitionists feebly and not invariably tactfully, described, mainly in defensive vein, the benefits of a liquor drought, in loquacious "chats" in insufficiently conspicuous type, which not very many cared or had the time to read. Strategically, the Citizens' Rights replied in similar advertisement "chats" and successfully drew the Prohibitionists' fire. The Drys were out generated. Against ammunition in the form of ample cash which purchased brains experienced in that form of campaigning, their efforts seemed futile. They held public meetings to debate prohibition and charged substantially for admission! They were, moreover, blind to their opportunities. They failed to see that the liquor interests provided matter for counter-attack which could be used with killing effect. In the space used for long-winded "chats" in small type they might have blazoned forth in large type: "Appropriately brewers and publicans appeal to the bird—the public—that lays the golden egg, to lay its eggs for them. Don't be a goose! Put your golden eggs in your own nest." If day after day in the closing days of the campaign, saying little else, they had hammered that aspect of the case into public understanding, the honors of the battle would have been more equal.

#### A SECTARIAN ISSUE

Massed against the Prohibitionists, in addition to those directly interested in maintaining a lucrative industry and trade, were influential individuals and those holding investment in profitable brewery and distillery shares, and also journals deriving income from liquor advertisements. The Catholic Church, ever tolerant of the minor indulgences, accorded no support to the

cause of prohibition. Men and women were antagonistically influenced because clergymen—colloquially branded as "wowsers"—were leaders of the Dry campaign, which appeared to impart a sectarian aspect to the issue. And, of course, there was the argument that in the event of prohibition being carried the rich man would be able to obtain liquor, but not the poor workman. That, in Australia, with its strong labor movement, would be intolerable.

Strangely, the opposing parties omitted to emphasize to the voters that the Government of the State had determined upon the referendum, and intended, if prohibition was not carried, to pass legislation to minimize the "admitted evils of the liquor traffic."

Actually, all the campaign expense could have been saved. The vituperation between the advertising belligerents was wasted. The cause of prohibition was lost before the battle began, before the money for the first full-page advertisement was paid. There were from the start two deciding factors against prohibition. Of these by far the most important was the compensation to be paid to the liquor trades. No one knew even approximately what the amount of compensation would be. Estimates ranged as high as \$150,000,000. The people were afforded no alternative—it had to be prohibition with compensation, or else no prohibition. Of any possible arrangement between the warring Wets and Drys the people generally were not aware. In the aggregate, the public accorded the battle merely indulgent, more or less humorous, interest. There was no real public "feeling" in the matter. But those who toil and constitute the vast majority of electors in the State could think of no reason why they should compensate a trade which had been and was making greater profits than are made in any other business or industry. The Building of Sydney Harbor Bridge, which, except for the tall pylons, will resemble Hell's Gate Bridge over East River, New York, ruined several small businesses by obliterating the surrounding residential area. These traders applied for compensation, but the Government, which is building the bridge, refused to grant them anything.

The factor next in importance that influenced the workers against prohibition

was the certain loss of employment within the liquor trades and in occupations which would be inimically affected by prohibition. That prohibition, if carried, would not take effect until two years later, when employes would be compensated to the extent of six months' wages, was not generally considered or known. The liquor interests enlarged upon the unemployment prohibition would create, but did not mention that twenty-four months' notice would be given to look for other work, in addition to the six months' wages. Figures quoted were generally large, often vague and inconsistent, particularly the welter of figures allegedly relating to prohibition in the United States. For instance, figures were featured proving that in American cities convictions for drunkenness are far in excess of those in Australia's cities. These figures might be authentic; if so, they had no value for the purposes of comparison, because in Australia a person must be very drunk or disorderly or both before he is arrested. The convictions, therefore, are but a trifling percentage of those actually intoxicated.

Unemployment is today the bugbear of the working people of Australia. Never before has unemployment been so great in all the six States of the Commonwealth. Argument, however specious, could not obscure the fact that tens of thousands of workers would lose their jobs. That in itself constituted a deciding factor against prohibition. Apart from employes destined to be directly affected, additional thousands of workers in the many businesses connected with the liquor trade would become jobless or lose money without being entitled to compensation. Instinctively the unaffected workers also voted against prohibition—actually against unemployment. Automatically the referendum became a class issue—a matter of "mateship," for one worker must do nothing to injure a mate. In addition there were those conscientious ones who disclaimed the right to decide that another person should not drink intoxicants. This, of course, is nonsense, because the law of the land confers upon each elector the privilege anonymously at a referendum to interfere with the liberty of a fellow-citizen.

With these diverse factors actively opposed to prohibition it is surprising that so many voted Dry—the more remarkable considering that the majority of Australians "take a drink," and that the women who do likewise are more numerous than the most tolerant regard as seemly. In the State of New South Wales 1,436,450 electors are enrolled. Voting was compulsory and 336,771 voted for and 833,652 against prohibition, resulting in an adverse majority of 496,881. Electors who made their votes informal numbered 11,014.

#### AUSTRALIA'S CAPITAL WET

Unlike that in New South Wales, the referendum in the Federal Territory, which has an area of only 940 square miles, was on four questions, which the electors answered by voting as follows: For prohibition of possession of alcohol, 228; for continuance of the present law, 842; for sale under Federal control, 1,092; for sale in licensed premises, 2,218. The number of informal votes cast was 34. Consequently, the Federal Territory and Canberra, the Capital of Australia, like the rest of the Commonwealth, are now thoroughly Wet.

When the issue was beyond a doubt, the Liquor Trades' Defense Union thanked—with undoubted sincerity—the electors of the State of New South Wales for having omitted to use the axe when they had the opportunity to apply its cutting-edge. The Secretary of the Citizens' Rights and Liquor Reform Association told the newspapers that calamity had been averted and that "the snake of prohibition had been strangled in its cradle." The Prohibitionists said they had not expected to win, that they were gratified that so many voted Dry, and promised to renew their efforts to end the evil. The Government, which obviously desired prohibition but merely fixed the date of the referendum and thereupon "sat tight," announced that prohibition having been rejected, it would devise means to deal with the undeniable evils of the liquor trade. Irrespective of inclination and opinion, they must be blind indeed who fail to perceive the increasing drunkenness in Australia, whatever the statistics of convictions may indicate.

Sydney, Australia.



# Denial of the Franchise to French Women

By SIMONE FRANCE

GRADUATE OF PARIS AND COLUMBIA UNIVERSITIES; WRITER AND LECTURER ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**E**ITHER the French woman is inferior to women of other countries, or French legislation falls short of dealing out justice equal to that of other nations, is the dogmatic statement with which Senator Louis Martin one day startled his Sorbonne audience. The wishy-washy attitude of both men and women—women particularly—regarding an issue so vital to France as that of political reform would make a less ardent women's champion than M. Martin lose both his patience and temper. If, as he points out with his typically Gallic logic, the women of France remain voteless in this year 1928, something is wrong either with the women themselves, or with the legislators. It is an incredible fact that France, a country where women have played a greater part and have had a greater political influence than in any other, now lags behind in the ranks of those nations that are loath to grant their women political recognition. Can it be that France will be the last country in the world to grant her women that political instrument, the vote? Can it be that France wants to go on record as a country daring in her ideas, but timorous in her deeds?

If not, then what is the matter with France? Why is it that the French Parliament hesitates to take what it calls a leap in the dark, when at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in the time of Philip the Fair, the first States General was elected by the whole people of France, men and women without distinction? Hence we see that the ladies of the Middle Ages, theoretically at least, had those political privileges still denied the modern women. And the situation seems the more paradoxical when one considers that it was none other than the France of the Revolution that robbed women of a quasi-political equality with men. At the very time when France waved highest in the skies the flaming banner of liberty, fraternity and equal-

ity, she took away from her women the very rights she was fighting to attain for men. The first Constitution of France in 1789 emphatically stated that all men were born and remained equal. It also emphatically implied that women were not born equal with men.

But if French women failed to profit by the French Revolution through masculine usurpation, should it not behoove the French woman of the twentieth century to fight for the vote if she really cares for it? But the question is: does she really care?

One of the chief objections French women advance against voting is that to mix in politics would detract from their femininity. And in this respect the story of George Sand is still typical of the modern French woman. In her novels George Sand had fulminated against the customs of the time, depicting her heroines, Indiana and Valentine, as victims. She, herself, in her ardor for woman's emancipation, had gone so far as to assume masculine attire. Not unnaturally the feminists of the time had taken it for granted that George Sand would offer no objection to being put up as a candidate for public office, and did not trouble to ask her. George Sand made no secret of what she thought about it all and wrote as follows:

A newspaper edited by women has proclaimed my candidacy to the National Assembly. If the joke did not hurt my pride in clothing me with ridiculous pretenses, I would ignore it. But if I did, it might be thought that I adhere to the principles advocated by this paper.

1. I hope that no voter will lose his vote by whimsically writing my name on his ballot.

2. I have not the honor of knowing any of these ladies who form clubs and manage newspapers.

3. I disclaim any article that may be signed with my name or my initials in this paper.

I beg the pardon of these ladies who entertain such good will toward me, and urge them to curb their zeal.

That her interest in feminine independence was not political stands out clearly

in George Sand's curt answer, quoted above; she was chiefly concerned with women's emotional and social emancipation.

More recently, the "Divine Sarah" evidenced the same scorn for political life: "Our place," she said, "is anywhere but in politics. We are made to rule over the entire world but not to govern our own nation."

It might be said that George Sand, although a rebel against conventions, lived in the last century, and that her case may not apply to the present day, or that French women have evolved since the time of Sarah Bernhardt; but let us refer to Mme. Curie who ranks second to none in the field of science. Even she has consistently refrained from public statements regarding women's suffrage and yet, better than any other, she is cognizant of the weighty influence exerted by women in France.

Mme. Curie's own experience proclaims clearly the true reasons why French women are little concerned over their political status. It was in 1924 when the Minister of Education was to decide upon the most efficient methods of disposing of some 13,000,000 francs that had been subscribed for improving laboratories in France. A brilliant gathering of men had been convened, and among them only one woman, Mme. Curie. The crucial question had arisen as to whether the money should be used for entirely new buildings, or for the improvement of those already existent. Divergent opinions had been expressed, but no solution had yet been reached. Silence fell upon the Assembly. Mme. Curie asked for the floor. In a deep, well-modulated voice she said exactly what should have been said, and brought down all arguments to this conclusion: it is necessary to perfect what is already in existence, as nothing new is safe if not built on old foundations. Her opinion rang so clear and true that she immediately won unanimous support. Dr. Appell, rector of the University of Paris, turned to Stéphane Lauzanne, the relator of the story, and in truly French fashion said: "Here we have the finest example of feminism. A woman may not vote, but she can obtain the votes of others."

If such women, intellectually advanced and famous for their achievements, concur in the idea that women's influence is not best to be

expressed in the field of politics, then what can be expected from the mass of home-loving French women, for whom most cares centre around the family, which in France is the pivot of the whole social life? As an illustration of the strength of family ties I can plainly recall that at the time the Young Women's Christian Association started its war work in France, and asked me to help organize recreational and educational clubs for French women—particularly for the ammunition workers—there was at first in the provinces and even in Paris a general outcry. A club, for the French mother, was a kind of evil place that robbed her of her jealously guarded authority over her daughter. It was not until long after, and then only because the Y. W. C. A. exercised the greatest tact, giving evidence of a keen understanding of French psychology and customs, that French mothers allowed their daughters to join the club. As a matter of fact, the experiment was such a success that these clubs are now carried on by native organizations. The French woman's bent lies in the direction of individualistic activity rather than group action, but the experiment just mentioned has proved that once organized she can effectively participate in community work.

#### ATTITUDE OF FRENCH WOMEN

At the present time, in France, the women most susceptible to group action are those represented in ever increasing number in the factories. These women are being approached by the Communist Party—which, by the way, is skillfully laying a network of propaganda in the industrial field—and are perhaps, politically speaking, the most active and enthusiastic supporters of women's suffrage. To them, the vote is more than a tenuous ideal: it is a usable tool with which they hope to realize their actual concrete needs.

But not so to the peasant woman, for whom political matters are as far remote as the seventh heaven. She struggles painfully to win her bread—without butter—and goes to the field grumbling against the heavy taxes and the light return, complaining against everything and everybody, chiefly, of course, the Government, source of all evils. If you ask her, as I did last Summer: "If you are not pleased with the way things

are going, why don't you do something about it? Why don't you vote?" she will invariably shake her weary head and reply: "What is the use? 'They' are so strong." And the "they" summons to her mind some vague, imponderable, mysterious being which is evil and omnipotent.

The French bourgeoisie more nearly appreciates what the vote would mean for her, and among the professional women, who are about 270,000 strong—about double the pre-war number—rank many feminists. A well-known lawyer, Maria Verone, is President of the French League for Women's Rights. There are other organizations that work for women's emancipation, such as the French Union for Women's Suffrage, with more than 100,000 adherents under the able leadership of Mme. Brunschwig; the French Women's National Council, the Woman's Fraternal Union, the Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of Women, the Committee for Feminist Propaganda and the National Union for Women's Votes; but these societies are not effectively linked, and consequently their activities are scattered.

The average woman in France, much like George Sand, Sarah Bernhardt and Mme. Curie, seems more anxious to exercise her influence through the traditional feminine method of persuasion rather than direct action. They agree with the concept which Keyserling, the German philosopher, stated to me as that of the ideal woman: "It is not necessary that woman should do great things," he said, "but rather that she should promote them; that her influence be more effective than her movements." And he added, that this attitude was typical of the French woman. French men, who are accustomed to the astute and patient tactics of women, were, therefore, much surprised and even more amused when on an extremely hot day last Summer the rumor reached their ears in their beloved city of Paris, of the bold manner in which Miss Doris Stevens of the National Woman's Party and her international group had launched an open offensive against the tranquillity of President Doumergue while he was entertaining at lunch, in his Summer residence at Rambouillet, Mr. Kellogg and other signatories of the Peace Pact. Things aren't done that way in Paris. Aggressive meth-

ods have never been the French women's way of attack.

Then, when and how are French woman to get the vote? The answer is as simple as can be. She will "win" the vote when she cares enough to have it.

As to the French men's attitude toward women's vote, and whether they will ever "give" women their emancipation, there was a time when men were most favorable to women's political equality. That was immediately after the war: the social structure, shaken to its foundations, was unstable; men had still vivid in their memories the excellent work done by their mothers and their wives during four drab years of darkness. Then if at any time, with the conditions so fluid and men so receptive and well disposed, the political liberation of women in France might have been expected to come.

#### VICTORY IN 1919: DEFEAT IN 1928

As a matter of fact, on May 18, 1919, in the midst of the Peace Conference, before the Treaty of Versailles had been signed, the Chamber of Deputies took up on its calendar a bill granting women the right to vote at both municipal and legislative elections. At the conclusion of one of several speeches eulogizing women, M. Briand emphatically asserted: "I vote for the equality of both men's and women's rights to universal suffrage." Victory was won, and the following text was adopted by 344 votes against 93:

*Article 1.* The laws and regulations concerning the vote and eligibility for all elected assemblies are to be applied to all French citizens, without distinction of sex.

*Article 2.* For a month dating from the enactment of the present law, electoral lists will be opened for all supplementary registration according to Article 1.

*Article 3.* The present law is to be applied to Algeria.

Now was the time for women to do some really good work and persuade the gentlemen of the Senate that women considered the question a vital one, and that they would become militant, bold and restless until satisfaction was granted them. But what happened was simply this: women accepted the vote of the Chamber as a great victory, and rested on that. To be sure, Senators were petitioned and interviewed and besieged, but that was the work of a very small minority.



No editorial was written on the subject, and no headline blazoned the event to the world. The country as a whole failed to respond with the degree of enthusiasm which would have swept away the doubts of the Senators then opposed to suffrage. And three years later, when the Senate deigned to consider the question, the interest provoked by the vote of the House of Representatives had already waned, and the bill was turned down by 156 votes against 134; and again the defeat was received with apparently the same astonishing lack of public response.

So for the last ten years, motions regarding women's suffrage have been presented to the Senate and lost. As recently as June, 1928, Senator Louis Martin could not obtain from the Senate permission to set aside a date, July 6, for discussion of the much-needed reform in electoral law. Although lobbying had been going on for weeks, and smartly dressed women had packed the galleries, the Senators, by 176 votes to 128, decided to shelve the women's suffrage bill.

Strangely enough, the opposition now comes mainly from the progressive groups of the Senate—the Radicals and the Radical-Socialists—who evoke the spectre of the Catholic Church and for whom anticlericalism is the rallying cry. Their belief is that women in France are under the influence of the Church, and that their vote will reflect such an influence. M. Bérard, the *rappporteur* of the women's suffrage bill in the Senate, speaks about what he considers "the clerical peril" as if he were in mortal terror of its consequence. He knows that the large majority of women in France are of the Catholic faith, and that the clergy, who are opponents of the democratic form of government, have always mixed politics and religion, two matters that should be kept strictly apart. M. Bérard feels very sure that there are not fifty pulpits in the churches of France which have not for more than a century violently incited to political strife against democracy and the principles of 1789. According to him a number of churches have been transformed into real political clubs, where the voice of only one party is heard.

So here is men's great argument against women's suffrage: it might destroy the ef-

fect of the hard-won separation of Church and State effective since 1905, for of the priest the French politician is much more afraid than of the woman. For instance, after Napoleon's fall in 1814, the Bourbons returned, bringing with them a reaction both political and religious, particularly religious, witnessed by the fact alone that divorce was then prohibited, and was not legally reinstated in France before 1884.

#### THE OUTLOOK

Now, if French Senators won't "give" women the vote, and if French women won't "win" the vote for themselves, what is to be the future outlook? Will considerations of a new order swing the balance in favor of women's enfranchisement in France? This may prove to be the case. For instance, as Senator Gourju once pointed out in the Senate, there is a peculiar situation now obtaining in the Valley of the Sarre. According to the Versailles Treaty, five districts originally belonging to the German Empire have obtained the right to express by a plebiscite, without sex discrimination, their choice as to whether they wish to retain their present political and national affiliation or return to the status of their French ancestors. Are the French Senators naïve enough to expect women from the Sarre district to forego, by asking allegiance to France, their political rights which they possess today as subjects of Prussia and Bavaria? And there are in the small district of the Sarre, as a consequence of the war, 11,000 more women than men, which stresses the importance of women and their vote in that region.

No Senator would ever refuse the vote to French women on the principle that they do not deserve it. They do admittedly deserve it, the Senators say, but they add that the moment is not opportune. And perhaps this is true. It is at least plausible, since women today are 1,800,000 in excess of men, and the Government at present is too insecure to risk such an extension of the suffrage. This is really the difficulty in France. The seemingly dramatic spectacle in Turkey, for instance, of the emancipation of the Turkish woman is, by contrast to what enfranchisement in France might mean at the moment, a mere mummery, for the Turkish dictatorship is so strongly entrenched as to

fear nothing from a new element. The same applies to Italy. In Germany, where women have equal rights, such a step forward was used to enhance the power of the faction seeking authority, the Republicans.

#### POLITICAL DANGERS

In France, think the Senators, the precariousness of the situation makes it more advisable to let matters remain in *statu quo* than to risk an experiment which may bring disastrous results. Under unstable conditions the change might mean either a return to monarchy, or another form of the dictatorship found necessary in other parts of Europe to cope with post-war situations, or a lapse into a communistic form of government inspired and engineered by the Soviets of Russia. In this dilemma France would be between two extremes, and the Senators deem it wiser to let whatever political readjustment that is bound to come take a natural course, mainly to insure the safety of the republic. Only a strong and stable government can afford to deal with a new element such as the women's vote, and though the Poincaré Ministry (as constituted until recently) has achieved miraculous results in the two years of its incumbency, the conditions of French political life, with eight or nine major parties, cannot prevent the Government from being anything but a shifting, insecure ship tossed by the seas of high parliamentarism and petty political manoeuvres.

When France, under the irresistible momentum of international life and the obligations it entails, readjusts herself politically to a Constitution that is young and vigorous and modern; when the old obsolete Constitution of 1875 makes way for one adapted to cope with the demands and exi-

gencies of the time, then a political renaissance will take place in France and will bring with it, as a consequence, the vote for women. And once they are given the vote, it is believed, the French women will follow without hesitation, or regret, the heroic masculine path laid before them by their famous general Joan of Arc.

But, at the present time, without speculating with regard to the future, the situation may be reduced to this: the spectre of the war's devastation still haunts France, and every one bows, if not in silence, at least with patience to the burden that devastation entails. There are maimed to take care of, widows to pension, orphans to bring up. There are the devastated regions to complete rebuilding, the reparation problem to be solved, the debt question to settle, and the heavy public debt to pay. Taxes are very high and very heavy indeed for the French people. At the present time life is for them an unromantic struggle in which hard work spells but meager food. In America, where the World War is almost forgotten, it is difficult to realize that the war in France is still a living thing, not because hatred is rooted in the hearts of the French people, but because the war has left its indelible marks in the daily routine of life. Most families still mourn a beloved one, and the increasingly heavy obligations are to be met with a franc one-fifth of its original value and out of incomes that are becoming continually smaller. Therefore, just now, the politicians of France are much more concerned with facing the present situation as it is and therefore fail to see the wisdom of risking their authority to indulge in an experiment the results of which are utterly beyond the possibility of reckoning.



# Immunity to Tuberculosis

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

**I**MMUNITY to tuberculosis can be conferred by the use of a salve made of dead tuberculosis germs, the Hamburg meeting of the Society of German Naturalists and Physicians was told by Dr. E. Lowenstein of Vienna. It is known as dermotubin, he said, and has been used in the last four years to immunize all Vienna school children. Three applications, a month apart, produced reactions in a third of the 6-year-old youngsters, which indicates active immunity. Despite the virulence of the live germs, the salve is not harmful to those manufacturing it, he said, and it is now being made regularly by the Vienna Serological Institute.

The possibility of germs, previously harmless, rising in revolt and attacking human beings, while other pathogenic organisms abandon their life of crime and become adapted to peaceful residence in the human system, was presented by Dr. A. Gottstein, chief German health officer. Dr. Gottstein attributed the small number of epidemics during and after the World War to a tolerance to germs, developed during the millenniums of our enforced living with them. This factor plus personal hereditary immunity, he said, explains the low ebb in the number of cases of scarlet fever and diphtheria despite wartime malnutrition.

A given strain of germs may lead a Jekyll-and-Hyde life, Professor Emil Gottschlich of Heidelberg believes. Various epidemics may be due to periodic changes in their virility, enabling them at times to do great mischief, but at other times leaving them impotent. Professor Gottschlich also agreed with Dr. Gottstein that there is a possibility of previously harmless germs running amuck and starting an epidemic in that way.

The oxygen-carrying compound of the blood has at last been driven into its corner and compelled to confess its chemical identity by Professor Otto Warburg of Berlin. It is an iron compound bearing the chemical label tetrapyrrol and belongs to the

class of substances known to the technical world as "ferments." It is ten thousand times more sensitive to light than haemoglobin. But the light affects it beneficially, for when it is poisoned by combination with carbon monoxide the combination is readily broken up by faint illumination, and the ferment can then resume its function of carrying oxygen.

Living matter has an atomic structure peculiar to itself, declared Dr. H. Mark of Ludwigshafen. The grouping of the atoms in protoplasm into special groups called micellae, found in living things and nowhere else, was postulated by the great botanist Nägeli during the nineteenth century. Now, said Dr. Mark, Nägeli's hypothesis has been definitely proved, thanks to new technique involving the polarization of light and its utilization in the ultramicroscope to demonstrate the structure of such micellae in rubber, cellulose, sugar, and so forth. Atomic models of these organic structures can now be built with as much confidence as models are constructed for non-living things such as salt or silica.

## SUGAR MADE FROM MOLDS

At the annual Institute of Chemistry meeting of the American Chemical Society, held this year at Northwestern University, one of the ideas put forward was that molds which spoil food when the ice melts too soon can be made to aid in food production. H. T. Herrick of the United States Department of Agriculture pointed out that a common black mold has been drafted for the manufacture of citric acid, long a monopoly of lemons and other sour citrus fruits. At least as far back as Noah's time man has used fungi for the production of desired chemicals. The yeasts that ferment sugar to alcohol are fungi, while molds, belonging to a different fungus family, have also served mankind in the making of such things as cheese, for the green streaks in prime Parmesan are really moldy spots. Only lately, however, have



molds been deliberately set to work on sugar, and their possibilities as chemical servants begun to be realized.

The principal industrial exploitation of the appetite of a mold for sugar at present is the manufacture of citric acid. This has received a special stimulus from the imposition of an export tax by Italy on its citrate product, derived at present wholly from lemon culls. Since the whole soft-drink industry depends on citric acid, and a great deal is used in flavoring extracts as well, the Italian export duty may have almost the same effect on the infant American acid-from-mold industry as a protective tariff. At present the sugar from which the mold makes citric acid is the familiar cane sugar or sucrose. This is relatively expensive, and Mr. Herrick and his assistant, O. E. May, are now at work in the hope of producing citric acid from the action of mold on the cheaper corn sugar or glucose. Hitherto this has not been possible because of the impurities present in commercial glucose, but a product of high purity is now available. Citric is not the only acid that can be produced by the action of molds on sugar. According to Mr. Herrick, there are many different kinds of mold and many varieties of sugar and the combinations possible are almost infinite. Such acids as oxalic, malic, lactic and succinic are now known to be produced by molds, though the investigation has not proceeded very far. One acid, which has hitherto been so rare that it is listed at over \$100 a pound, has been produced by Mr. Herrick and Mr. May in the Government laboratories at about 35 cents a pound. This is gluconic acid, the result of the action of one species of mold on glucose. Very little is known of what gluconic acid may be good for, because its high price has hitherto practically prohibited experiments, but an investigation of its industrial possibilities may now be expected.

Tungsten, a few years ago so rare that it was a curiosity even to chemists, is now a household necessity and a household word. Dr. C. W. Balke of Highland Park, Ill., told the chemists gathered at Northwestern University that its near relatives, tantalum, molybdenum and columbium, while not so universally familiar, are now produced quite as readily and are finding an increas-

ing use in industry. The handling of these metals on an industrial scale, however, presents its difficulties, Dr. Balke said. The melting points are among the highest known for metals, and in order to prevent oxidation during melting the process has to be conducted in a vacuum or under an inert gas such as neon or nitrogen.

#### CHEMICAL INHIBITORS

Inhibition, one of the terms of Freudian psychology, has an entirely different and beneficent meaning as applied in industrial chemistry. Minute amounts of chemicals are, in some way as yet imperfectly understood, able to slow down the multifarious process lumped under the head of "spoiling," and these are known as inhibitors. At the Institute of Chemistry, Dr. N. H. Alyea of Princeton University discussed these inhibitors and their action. The most familiar inhibitor is tetra-ethyl lead, which inhibits ordinary gasoline from causing engine knock. A thimbleful of this added to a gallon of gasoline turns the trick. Other inhibitors make tires live longer, keep dyes from fading and prevent the important new industrial chemical furfural from spoiling. An inhibitor has been found which will prevent butter from becoming rancid, but, unfortunately, it is a poison, so that chemists will have to carry their researches further.

Cellulose, the stuff that rayon, print paper, brushing lacquers and smokeless powder are made of, will set the future valuation on forests, rather than the old-fashioned estimate of the number of board feet they will yield at the sawmill. This was the prophecy of Dr. A. W. Schorger of Madison, Wis., before the Institute of Chemistry. Wood for structural purposes is being supplanted rapidly by other materials which are as good or better for the purpose. For cellulose, however, there is no substitute. Wood must be relied upon to furnish most of it, particularly where the fibrous properties are paramount. Dr. Schorger believes that field crops as a source of cellulose should be viewed with conservatism, since many of the cellulose aggregates, particularly the pith cells, are so short as to be unsuited to the manufacture of paper products, for which most of the cellulose will be consumed for years to come. Well-man-

aged woodland will produce 2,000 pounds of cellulose per acre per year, while the average yield from an acre of cotton is only 155 pounds.

#### POPULATION AND FOOD PROBLEM

Starvation pressing on an overpopulated world is a specter the chemist refuses to worry about. Economists and sociologists have been concerned about the population problem ever since Malthus presented his theory more than a century ago, but they always assume unchanging needs and tastes on the part of the population and unchanging methods for the production of food.

At the Institute of Chemistry Dr. H. E. Barnard of Indianapolis challenged these assumptions, and declared that the chemist will be able to meet the food problems of any imaginable future population. He believes that the only thing that can limit the race is sheer lack of standing room. "The sociologist and economist study the Malthusian doctrine very differently from the chemist," he said. "They would limit world population to the number of people who can live happily and comfortably under the best living conditions today. The chemist is not so much interested in ideal living conditions as in applying scientific law to do the work of the world, no matter whether it is concerned with shelter or food or comfort. The chemist is impatient when he hears the Malthusian doctrine discussed in terms of wheat acreage, or sugars, or fats, for he is confident that when the fertile acres of the earth do not produce crops sufficient for man's needs he can synthesize them in his laboratory. Indeed, he is already doing it. When the need comes the chemist will convert the light of the sun and the nitrogen of the air into food for the human family. Thirty men working in a factory the size of a city block can produce in the form of yeast as much food as 1,000 men tilling

57,000 acres under ordinary agricultural conditions. To the chemist the Malthusian doctrine is but the sad reflection of a pessimistic world."

#### ORGANIC PEROXIDES

Although the average citizen is familiar with only one peroxide, hydrogen peroxide, which he uses for a mouth-wash and his daughter for a hair bleach if he does not watch her, peroxides of various other kinds play a more important part in his daily life than is usually realized. Some of the things for which peroxides are useful were described before the Institute of Chemistry by Dr. V. R. Kokatnur of Arlington, N. J. "Hydrogen peroxide can be described as being composed of two parts, viz., oxide head and hydrogen trunk," he said. "If this oxide head of hydrogen peroxide is attached to a trunk of a different genus such as one severed from organic compounds, we get an organic peroxide. Nature has many such organic peroxides. When a drying oil, such as linseed oil, tung oil or turpentine, dries in air, it forms a tough film of organic peroxides, and in a sense the paint and varnish industry may be said to depend on this discovery. When a beautifully colored leaf or flower fades or changes its color in the Fall it is perhaps due to a whole or part bleaching of such colors by peroxide formation." The oxygen of organic peroxides is of active type and is many hundred times more powerful than the oxygen of hydrogen peroxide. This property makes organic peroxides extremely useful in arts and industries. Thus nearly 50 per cent. of flour consumed in the country is bleached and treated by an organic peroxide. More flour is reclaimed than would otherwise be available for human consumption by this treatment. They are increasingly being consumed in the refining and bleaching of many of our edible oils.



# Aerial Events of the Month

## *Return Flight of the Graf Zeppelin—Byrd's Expedition Reaches New Zealand—Other Aerial Events*

ON Thursday, Nov. 1, nearly three weeks after her departure from Germany, at 7 o'clock in the morning, the Graf Zeppelin landed at Friedrichshafen, thus completing for the first time in aerial history a round-trip flight of the Atlantic. The trip from Friedrichshafen to Lakehurst (described in detail in the November CURRENT HISTORY), was begun on Oct. 11, and took 111 hours to cover a long southerly course of over 6,300 miles. Captain Eckener, although anxious to take a northern course, was forced to fly to the south of Europe and begin its flight across the Atlantic from over the western coast of Africa. The flight to the United States was slowed up by an accident to the horizontal fin, and for some time after news of the accident was received in the United States, destroyers were asked to be ready to stand by. In about two hours, however, while the Zeppelin hung in midocean, the damage was repaired by the amazing skill and daring of Knut Eckener, Captain Eckener's son, and others of the crew.

The Graf Zeppelin was in the United States nearly three weeks, during which time Captain Eckener and his officers, while the vessel was being repaired and refueled at Lakehurst, were fêted from New York south to Washington and west to Chicago. Almost immediately after the arrival of the airship a ticket office was established at Thomas Cook & Son's in New York to receive the many applications for return passage. The passenger list finally drawn up included in its twenty-three members many Americans, among them the only woman passenger, Mrs. Clara Adams. There were hopes of the Zeppelin making a flight to the Middle West of the United States before her return to Germany, but after several postponements due to poor weather this plan was at the last minute abandoned, because Captain Eckener and the Graf Zeppelin were due back in Germany early in November to receive the official welcome of the City of Berlin.

The return flight was made in sixty-nine hours, covering a distance of 4,400 miles, at first following the Great Circle course and later changing to the southward. It was remarkable for its dangerous battle with the storms off Newfoundland and for the discovery on the Zeppelin, some two hours out of Lakehurst, of a nineteen-year-old stowaway, Clarence Terhune.

Captain Eckener, on his arrival in Friedrichshafen, spoke of the storm over Newfoundland, saying that disaster was avoided only by throttling the motors to the minimum, since maintaining their high speed would have burst the airship asunder. He told of battling with the head winds which for hours drove the ship backward at the rate of ten metres a second, so that when the dawn came the ship, instead of being far out to sea, was still over the rocky coast of Newfoundland. It was Captain Eckener's opinion that this same area of storm might be responsible for the loss of so many of the airplanes in their recent transatlantic attempts. As a result of the weather the course of the ship was changed and the Zeppelin was first sighted in Europe over the west coast of France.

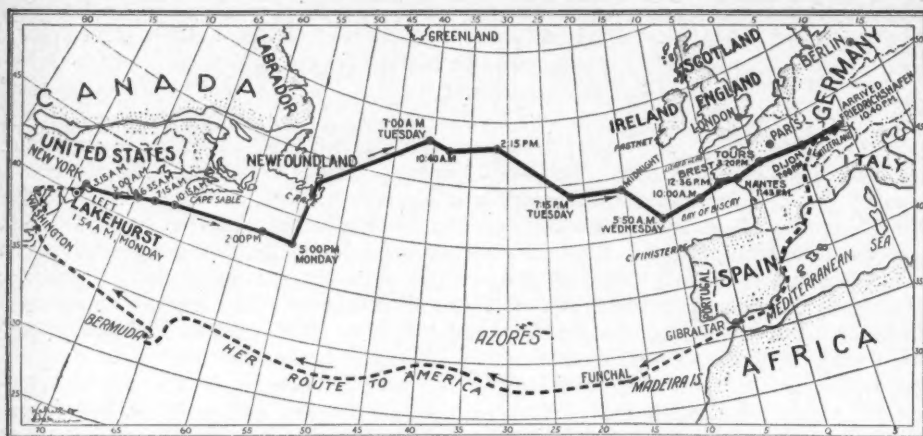
### BYRD'S EXPEDITION REACHES NEW ZEALAND

By Nov. 8, the four ships of the Byrd Antarctic Expedition were well on their way to the completion of the first lap of their journey. The C. A. Larsen, with Commander Byrd on board, put out from Los Angeles on Oct. 10. After celebrating the crossing of the equator, it put into port at Wellington, New Zealand where it was to stay until the end of the month.

### OTHER AERIAL EVENTS

Aside from the success of the Graf Zeppelin's flight, the past month has seen several disasters in the field of aerial development. On the afternoon of Oct. 17 Commander H. C. MacDonald, attempting a solitary flight of the Atlantic, took off from Harbor Grace, Newfoundland, at 1:21





#### GRAF ZEPPELIN'S ROUND TRIP

The Graf Zeppelin left Friedrichshafen Oct. 11 and landed at Lakehurst Oct. 14, covering 6,300 miles in 111 hours. (See dotted line.) The return trip from Lakehurst to Friedrichshafen (see solid line) covered 4,400 miles in 69 hours, from Oct. 29 to Oct. 31

P. M. in a tiny Gypsy Moth DeHaviland biplane. Commander MacDonald had been contemplating his flight for some time, having crossed the Atlantic from England bringing with him his biplane, for the sole purpose of flying back alone to the London airport. When the flight finally started, the plane, to lessen its weight, had no wireless, no floats in case of an enforced landing on water, and not enough fuel for more than a thirty-five-hour flight. Commander MacDonald furthermore, in spite of much general navigation experience in the British Navy, had had only eighty hours' flying experience, of which only half an hour was at night. The weather, when he started, with only the possibility of a fall in temperature which might bring ice to weigh down the wings of the plane, and the pilot's well-known indomitable courage, were in his favor. Thirty-two hours after his departure Commander MacDonald had been heard from only once, when he was sighted 700 miles out from Newfoundland by the Dutch steamer Hardenberg, but he has since not been heard of.

On Oct. 25 Captain Collyer and Harry Tucker in the monoplane Yankee Doodle made a non-stop flight from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and averaging 150 miles an hour set a new east-to-west record of twenty-four hours and fifty-one minutes, two hours less than that made by Kelly and

Macready in 1923. Both Collyer and Tucker had long been prominent in the field of aviation, the former for his skill as a pilot and the latter for his interest in and promotion of aviation. Their monoplane, the Yankee Doodle, was one of the great planes of the year. Before the record flight of Oct. 25 it had already set one record, when, with Art Goebel as pilot and Tucker as passenger, it flew from west to east in eighteen hours and fifty-one minutes. It was declared the winner of the transcontinental Air Derby until it was announced that one landing had been necessary to take on fuel, and it was the only plane to have made non-stop flights in both directions across the continent.

But on Nov. 3, in an attempt to break the Yankee Doodle's own non-stop record from west to east, soon after the take-off from Los Angeles for New York, while flying over the Bradshaw Mountains in Arizona, the same region that had caused Goebel's defeat in the Air Derby, the plane crashed into the wall of a canyon near Prescott and Collyer and Tucker were almost instantly killed. The region is a difficult one meteorologically and the night of Nov. 3 was particularly stormy. It is thought that the accident was the result of blinding rains and fog which prevented Collyer from seeing the canyon walls. Their plane was found next morning completely wrecked.

# President Coolidge Defines America's Attitude Toward Europe

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THAT Europe and the United States are lacking in mutual understanding was the main point of President Coolidge's Armistice Day speech (the text of which will be found at the end of this article). Frankly discussing this country's attitude, the President recommended a restriction of financial advances to European nations and, strongly emphasizing our naval needs, advocated the construction by the United States of more cruisers. Whether this speech of Mr. Coolidge's will prove a forward move in inter-continental relations is a question of some doubt. The immediate reaction of the larger European States, as reflected in the press, although one of criticism of the stand taken, was at the same time marked by appreciation of the frankness and boldness of the President's statements.

The speech aroused the greatest amount of immediate comment in Great Britain. The *London Times* in an editorial which praised our share in the war, also criticized freely President Coolidge's remarks both regarding the "pressure in the United States of war's financial burden," and regarding our present need of further naval armaments. Other British papers felt that the speech would cause Europe and the United States to drift further apart, although one or two sympathized and agreed with President Coolidge's stand. The Government's standpoint was indicated by Premier Baldwin in his final speech in defense of British foreign policy in the House of Commons on Nov. 13 when he appealed for closer contact by more frequent personal discussions between Europe and America:

I think President Coolidge is right. I think there is lacking between Europe and America mutual understanding, and I regret it profoundly. But if I am asked why it is, it is very difficult to find the answer. \* \* \* I do not pretend to see a way out, but I think this worthy of reflection and consideration. In Europe all her statesmen have got into the habit of meeting at Geneva and talking together, by which they learn not only each other's point of view but each other's idiosyncracies as individuals.

\* \* \* American statesmen do not know European statesmen. European statesmen do not know American statesmen. There is no personal intercourse and the only intercourse that takes place is by written dispatch that goes across 3,000 miles of ocean. It is a far more difficult thing to get a mutual understanding in those circumstances.

In Germany the press reflected public opinion to the effect that, although the Reich substantially agreed with Mr. Coolidge's observations on armament limitation, debts and the economic consolidation of Europe, the speech would seriously impair our relations with Europe. In Italy excitement over the speech was not very great, the chief feeling being that the remarks referred more to Great Britain than to Europe as a whole, and that as such they would not contribute greatly to Anglo-American understanding.

In France the immediate criticism of President Coolidge's speech was the sharpest of any in Europe. The French pointed to the inconsistency of the United States in proclaiming the need for greater American armament while advising European disarmament, and denied the truth of the argument that the United States did not benefit by the war. Feeling was even more deeply stirred by Mr. Kellogg's statement, in his Armistice Day speech in New York before the World Alliance of International Friendship that "the United States had assumed no responsibility, moral or otherwise, to enforce observance of the Pact of Paris."

Twenty-four hours after President Coolidge's speech the General Naval Board submitted to Secretary Wilbur the full statement of its naval policy, stating part of it to be:

To create, maintain and operate a navy second to none; and in conformity with the ratios for capital ships established by the Washington Treaty Limiting Naval Armaments;

To make war efficiency the object of all training and to maintain that efficiency during the entire period of peace;

To develop and to organize the navy for operations in any part of either ocean;

To make the strength of the navy for battle of primary importance;

To make the strength of the navy for exercising ocean-wide control of the sea, with particular reference to the protection of American interests and overseas and coast-wise commerce next in importance;

To encourage and endeavor to lead in the development of the art and material of naval warfare.

#### THE ANGLO-FRENCH NAVAL AGREEMENT

Though the discussion of international indebtedness and reparations during the last month has done not a little to force into the popular mind a realization of the necessity for finding some relief from the burden of armaments and the crushing weight of war, there has actually been little progress unless the recovery from a false step may be counted as such. The Anglo-French agreement has gone to its grave unhonored, if not unsung; and the songs that it has evoked must have seemed sadly discordant in Downing Street. The best that can be said of it is that, however inept, it was well intentioned. Not for a long time has any act of the British Government met with such general reprobation, not only from the opposition, but from within the Conservative ranks. While there is nothing in the published documents to warrant Commander Kenworthy's statement that it was intended as "reinsurance against American sea supremacy," there are many who will agree that it was "one of the worst diplomatic mistakes ever made by an English Government."

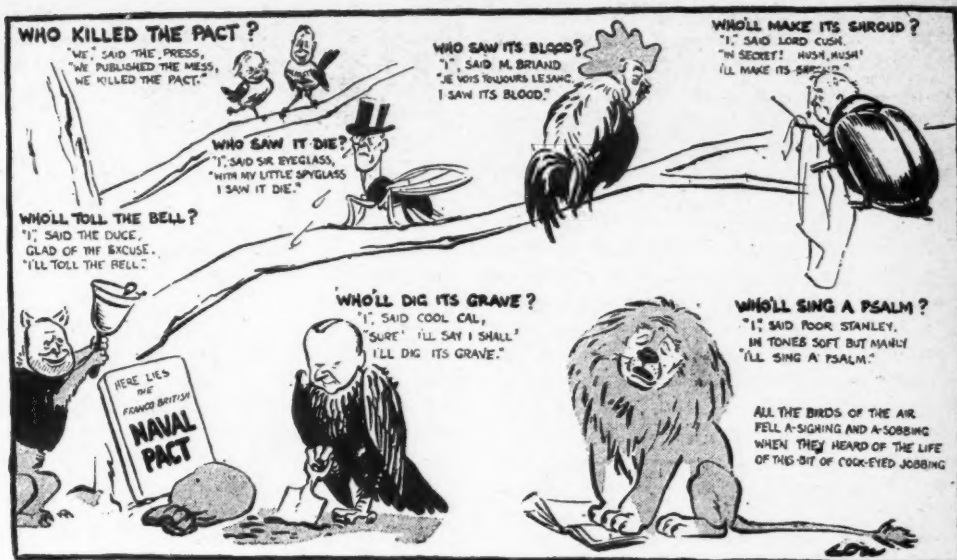
The White Paper embodying the correspondence, published by the British Government on Oct. 22, gives the full history of the negotiations. It appears that early in June a French naval representative, in conversation with Admiral Kelly at Geneva, suggested that limitation be confined to vessels mounting guns over six inches in calibre. Assuming, as it proved, incorrectly, that the French statement was official, Sir Austen Chamberlain passed it on to the Marquess of Crewe, then British Ambassador at Paris (June 26) instructing him to inform the French Government that the British were "prepared to instruct their representatives to support it, if put forward by the French"; and further that this "concession to their views on naval classification would enable them to meet the French Government by withdrawing their opposi-

tion to the French standpoint in regard to army-trained reserves." In his reply dated July 20, M. Briand stated that if the British would incorporate a provision exempting coastal submarines from limitation, his Government would accept their proposals as a whole. He suggested, however, that the agreement "can only bear fruit if the United States Government, in particular, agrees to accept it," and asked if it should not be submitted to Washington.

On July 28 the Marquess of Crewe wrote to Briand stating that, while the British were unwilling to agree that submarines below 600 in tonnage possessed "a strictly defensive character," they would, nevertheless, waive the point and agree to their exclusion. He then restated the classes with which the Disarmament Conference was to deal: (1) Capital ships (over 10,000 tons or with guns above eight inches in calibre; (2) aircraft carriers of over 10,000 tons; (3) surface vessels of or below 10,000 tons armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch calibre; (4) ocean-going submarines, i. e., over 600 tons. Since the first two classes were limited by the Washington Conference, the Disarmament Conference, for classes 3 and 4, should "fix a maximum tonnage applicable to all Powers which no Power will be allowed to exceed for the total of vessels in each of these respective categories during the period covered by the convention. Within this maximum limit each Power will at the final conference indicate for each of these categories the tonnage they undertake not to exceed."

Two days later, July 30, this tentative agreement was transmitted to Washington, Tokio and Rome. Nothing was said, however, about the British concession regarding trained reserves, nor did Sir Austen Chamberlain, in his announcement of the agreement in the House of Commons, refer to it. Lord Cushendun's statement of the case in his telegram of Aug. 10 to Mr. Chilton in Washington was certainly disingenuous, in view of the language of the dispatch to Crewe on June 26 quoted above. The text of this dispatch was not among those communicated confidentially to Washington on Sept. 26, although Sir Austen Chamberlain, in his telegram to Sir Horace Rumbold at Berlin, on Aug. 5, implied, though not specifically, that its substance





—Glasgow Evening Times

was known to the American Chargé d'Affaires. In his note to Chilton, Lord Cushendun went into detail as to the reasons that led the Government to recede from its position. They had come to realize, he said, that the French and the other European Governments which maintain the system of conscription could not be induced to compromise, and that to continue to oppose them would make impossible any agreement regarding land forces: "It is not believed that any American interest can be prejudiced by the withdrawal of His Majesty's Government's opposition on the military reservist question."

In view of the nature of the American and Italian replies, and in response to the storm of criticism at home, the British Government has announced that it will not go on with the agreement; but it can hardly be disposed of so easily. Their representatives at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission can with difficulty persist in their contest against conscription; and there is a persistent and uneasy feeling in England, despite vigorous Government denials, that there is some sort of a military and naval understanding between the two countries. France, for its part, can hardly again refuse to admit the possibility of classification. In this country the correspondence

has undoubtedly strengthened the forces that are supporting the Navy's building program and make its enactment very probable. Premier Baldwin in his speech before the League of Nations Union on Oct. 26 stated positively that there would be no consequent increase in their own building program.

At the moment, the prospect of any early agreement regarding disarmament looks very dark; but there is a growing realization that the end so eagerly desired must be sought, not through the technical discussions of experts, but in the spirit of the Pact of Paris, through mutual concessions of statesmen earnestly seeking for an agreement.

#### REPARATIONS AND DEBTS

There has been much "hurrying to and fro" during the last month by the leaders of international finance; and out of their conferences a definite program is being evolved for the re-establishment of a sound fiscal basis for Europe. While there are still very important problems to be solved, and many pitfalls in the way, all Europe, and tacitly, our own Government, are anxious to secure an agreement; and that is, after all, the thing of most importance. Germany wishes to secure the evacuation of

the Rhineland and the determination of her total reparations obligation; France to find a way of postponing the payment of her war debt to this country, of which \$409,000,000 is due next September and not included in her budget. The other nations, including our own, have their own stakes in the pool, differing, of course, in kind; and a settlement would be of substantial benefit to all.

In the November number of *CURRENT HISTORY* we outlined the initial steps that have been taken—the conference at Geneva, resulting in the agreement of Sept. 16, and the proposal to base the settlement on the German industrial and railway bonds provided for in the Dawes plan. As the marketing of so huge an issue proved impracticable, an alternative program is being arranged. During the early part of the week beginning Oct. 14, S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General of Reparations, was in London discussing with the Prime Minister, with British financial leaders and with J. Pierpont Morgan, the problems involved. On Oct. 19 Winston Churchill and Mr. Gilbert



#### WOMAN'S DAY: UP FOR DISARMAMENT

Humanity: "Mothers, it is your duty to fight for the lives of your children."

—*De Notenkraker, Amsterdam*



#### IT LOOKS VERY LIKE BOOTLEGGING

Uncle Sam: "Well, how d'ye explain this? Trying to get away with it again, are ye?"

—*Glasgow Bulletin*

met M. Poincaré in Paris and later in the day there were conferences with M. Moreau, head of the Bank of France, with Sir William Tyrrell, the British Ambassador, and with Mr. Morgan. While no definite statement regarding their decisions was made, it is understood that there was substantial agreement as to the program. On Oct. 23 Mr. Gilbert was in Brussels and at a luncheon given by M. Jaspar, the Belgian Premier, he discussed the situation with M. Paul Hymans and with Baron Houtart, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Finance. Two days later he had a similar conference in Berlin with Chancellor Müller, Dr. Hilferding, Minister of Finance; Herr Curtius, Minister of Commerce, and with Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank.

The German Government on Oct. 27 took the initiative in formally proposing, through its Ambassadors in Paris, London, Rome, Brussels and Tokio, the formation of the commission of experts envisaged by the Geneva resolution of Sept. 16. As it was clearly understood that the United States

Government did not desire, in any official way, to participate, we were not included in the proposal. To the German suggestion that the commission should be composed of independent experts, the French replied, with a great deal of truth, it must be said, that experts on such a commission are never independent in the sense that they are without Governmental instructions. Again Mr. Gilbert journeyed to Paris, where he secured from M. Poincaré an agreement



#### VARIOUS CURES

"These Kellogg bindings are very good, but Michel does not find the method of application to him very comfortable."

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

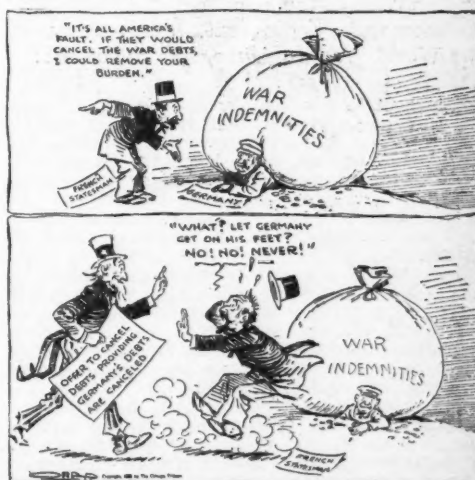
that the experts should be independent in the sense that they are not to be Government officials. No compromise was secured on the more important point, the terms of reference of the commission. As Germany sees it, the body should have wide powers and should re-examine Germany's capacity to pay before dealing with the duration and the amount of the annuities. It is the French view, however, that the Dawes plan as it stands is well enough, and all that is necessary is amendment and completion by a readjustment of the annuities. Whenever the Germans are recalcitrant, M. Poincaré refers casually to the London agreement assessing the German obligation at approximately \$33,000,000,000, and while no one any longer takes that figure seriously, it has a certain theoretic legality. He occupies rather a strong



HELP THIS STAGGERING OLD BOY  
—The News, Hutchinson, Kan.

position since he assumes, quite likely with some authority, to be the spokesman of the Allies.

It is idle to speculate regarding the findings of the prospective commission, but certain limiting conditions seem rather clear. It is unlikely that any total of Germany's obligations will formally be established, though the curious may obtain the figure by adding the sum of the annuities assessed. As the total is bound to be far below that



If America were to cancel the war debts  
—The Chicago Tribune



of the London agreement, faces must be saved. The annual payments to be made by Germany will not exceed the normal Dawes annuity of \$600,000,000, but it seems doubtful if they will be much below that figure. M. Poincaré, in his Chambéry and Caen speeches and in the Chamber on Nov. 15, when his new Cabinet won a vote of confidence, made it clear that France demands the amount she owes Great Britain and America, \$187,000,000, plus the cost of reconstruction of the devastated areas, between \$3,000,000,000 and \$4,000,000,000. Great Britain requires \$180,000,000 annually for the payment of her debt to America; Italy \$48,000,000 to meet her obligations to Great Britain and the United States, and Belgium \$50,000,000 for similar purposes.

There is small comfort for Germany in these figures; but with good luck she may secure a 10 per cent., possibly a somewhat larger, reduction of her present obligation. The duration of the annuities will be that of the American debt settlements; unless, by the marketing of some portion of the Dawes railroad and industrial bonds, a capital sum can be obtained which may be used to liquidate the payments due during the last years of the agreement. This may

possibly reduce the term of international war debt payments from sixty to thirty-seven years. This will depend very largely on the attitude of our own Government. Officially we are still committed to the theory that there is no relation between war debts and indemnities, and Mr. Hoover has made it quite clear that he supports the position of the Coolidge Administration. Nevertheless, there may be substance in the statement made in an editorial in *Commerce and Finance* on Oct. 24: "Tell it not in Gath, but there is an impression that, reparations settled and the Mellon-Bérenger agreement ratified, Washington may see more clearly whether a revision of debt settlements is desirable." The editors of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* made substantially the same statement in their issue of Oct. 27. Thus far our Government has done nothing more than to signify that there will be no objection to the service of individual Americans on the new commission. At the time this article is written its personnel and time of meeting are still undetermined, though the foreign dispatches are quite specific as to its prospective membership. It will doubtless sit in Paris, probably late in December.

## TEXT OF PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S ARMISTICE DAY SPEECH

THE address of President Coolidge on Nov. 11 in the Washington Auditorium, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the World War armistice, was as follows:  
Fellow Countrymen:

We meet to give thanks for ten more years of peace. Amid the multitude of bounties which have been bestowed upon us, we count that our supreme blessing. In all our domestic and foreign relations our chief concern is that it should be permanent. It is our belief that it is coming to be more and more realized as the natural state of mankind.

Yet, while we are placing our faith in more complete understandings which shall harmonize with the universal conscience, we ought not to forget that all the rights we now possess, the peace we now enjoy, have been secured for us by a long series of sacrifices and of conflicts.

We are able to participate in this celebration because our country had the resources, the character, and the spirit to raise, equip and support with adequate supplies an army and a navy which, by placing more than 2,000,000 men on the battlefields of Europe, contributed to the making of the armistice on the 11th day of November, 1918.

Our first thought, then, is to acknowledge the obligation which the nation owes to those who served in our forces afloat and ashore, which contributed the indispensable factor to the final victory. Although all our people became engaged in this great conflict, some in furnishing money, some in producing food and clothing, some in making munitions, some in administering our Government, the place of honor will always be accorded to the men and the women who wore the uniform of our country—the living and the dead.

When the great conflict finally broke upon us we were unprepared to meet its military responsibilities. What navy we possessed at that time, as is always the case with our navy, was ready. Admiral Sims at once carried new courage and new energy to the contest on the sea. So complete was the defense of our transports that the loss by enemy attack in sending our land forces to Europe was surprisingly small.

As we study the record of our army in France we become more and more impressed by three outstanding features. The unity of the American forces and the integrity of the American command were always preserved. They were trained with a thoroughness becoming the tradition of McClellan, they were fought with a tenacity and skill worthy

of the memory of Grant. And finally, they were undefeated. For these outstanding accomplishments, which were the chief sources of the glory of our arms, we are indebted to the genius of General Pershing.

It is unnecessary to recount with any detail our experience in the war. It was a new revelation not only of the strength but of the unity of our people. No country ever exhibited a more magnificent spirit or demonstrated a higher degree of patriotic devotion.

The great organizing ability of our industrial leaders, the unexpected strength of our financial resources, the dedication of our entire man power under the universal service law, the farm and the factory, the railroad and the bank, 4,000,000 men under arms and 6,000,000 men in reserve, all became one mighty engine for the prosecution of the war. All together it was the greatest power that any nation on earth had ever assembled.

When it was all over, in spite of the great strain, we were the only country that had much reserve power left. Our foodstuffs were necessary to supply urgent needs; our money was required to save from financial disaster. Our resources delivered Europe from starvation and ruin.

In the final treaty of peace, not only was the map of Europe remade, but the enormous colonial possessions of Germany were divided up among certain allied nations. Such private property of her nationals as they held was applied to the claim for reparations. We neither sought nor took any of the former German possessions. We have provided by law for returning the private property of her nationals.

Yet our own outlay had been and was to continue to be a perfectly enormous sum. It is sometimes represented that this country made a profit out of the war. Nothing could be further from the truth. Up to the present time our own net war costs, after allowing for our foreign-debt expectations, are about \$36,500,000,000. To retire the balance of our public debt will require about \$7,000,000,000 in interest.

Our Veterans' Bureau and allied expenses are already running at over \$500,000,000 a year in meeting the solemn duty to the disabled and dependent. With what has been paid out and what is already apparent it is probable that our final cost will run well toward \$100,000,000,000, or half the entire wealth of the country when we entered the conflict.

Viewed from its economic results, war is the most destructive agency that ever afflicts the earth. Yet it is the dead here and abroad who are gone forever. While our own losses were thus very large, the losses of others required a somewhat greater proportionate outlay, but they are to be reduced by territorial acquisitions and by reparations.

While we shall receive some further credits on the accounts I have stated as our costs, our outlay will be much greater than that of any other country. Whatever may be thought or said of us, we know and every informed person should know that we reaped no selfish benefit from the war. No citizen of the United States needs to make any apology to anybody anywhere for not having done our duty in defense of the cause of world liberty.

Such benefits as came to our country from our war experience were not represented by material values, but by spiritual values. The whole standard of our existence was raised; the conscience and the faith of the nation were quickened with new life. The people awoke to the drumbeats of a new destiny.

In common with most of the Great Powers, we are paying the cost of that terrible tragedy. On the whole, the war has made possible a great advance in self-government in Europe, yet in some quarters society was so near disintegration that it submitted to new forms of absolutism to prevent anarchy. The whole essence of war is destruction. It is the negation and the antithesis of human progress. No good thing ever came out of war that could not better have been secured by reason and conscience.

Every dictate of humanity constantly cries aloud that we do not want any more war. We ought to take every precaution and make every honorable sacrifice, however great, to prevent it. Still, the first law of progress requires the world to face facts, and it is equally plain that reason and conscience are as yet by no means supreme in human affairs. The inherited instinct of selfishness is very far from being eliminated; the forces of evil are exceedingly powerful.

The eternal questions before the nations are how to prevent war and how to defend themselves if it comes. There are those who see no answer except military preparation. But this remedy has never proved sufficient. We do not know of any nation which has ever been able to provide arms enough so as always to be at peace.

Fifteen years ago the most thoroughly equipped peoples of Europe were Germany and France. We saw what happened. While Rome maintained a general peace for many generations, it was not without a running conflict on the borders which finally engulfed the empire.

But there is a wide distinction between absolute prevention and frequent recurrence, and peace is of little value if it is constantly accompanied by the threatened or the actual violation of national rights.

If the European countries had neglected their defenses, it is probable that war would have come much sooner. All human experience seems to demonstrate that a country which makes reasonable preparation for defense is less likely to be subject to a hostile attack and less likely to suffer a violation of its rights which might lead to war.

This is the prevailing attitude of the United States and one which I believe should constantly determine its actions. To be ready for defense is not to be guilty of aggression. We can have military preparation without assuming a military spirit. It is our duty to ourselves and to the cause of civilization, to the preservation of domestic tranquillity, to our orderly and lawful relations with foreign peoples, to maintain an adequate army and navy.

We do not need a large land force. The present size of our regular army is entirely adequate, but it should continue to be supplemented by a national guard and reserves, and especially with the equipment and organization in our industries for furnishing supplies.

When we turn to the sea the situation is

different. We have not only a long coast line, distant outlying possessions, a foreign commerce unsurpassed in importance, and foreign investments unsurpassed in amount, the number of our people and value of our treasure to be protected, but we are also bound by international treaty to defend the Panama Canal.

Having few fueling stations, we require ships of large tonnage, and having scarcely any merchant vessels capable of mounting five or six inch guns, it is obvious that, based on needs, we are entitled to a larger number of warships than a nation having these advantages.

Important, however, as we have believed adequate national defense to be for preserving order and peace in the world, we have not considered it to be the only element. We have most urgently and to some degree successfully advocated the principle of the limitation of armaments. We think this should apply both to land and sea forces, but as the limitation of armies is very largely a European question we have wished the countries most interested to take the lead in deciding this among themselves.

For the purpose of naval limitation we called the Washington conference and secured an agreement as to capital ships and airplane carriers, and also as to the maximum unit tonnage and maximum calibre of guns of cruisers. But the number of cruisers, lesser craft and submarines have no limit.

It no doubt has some significance that foreign Governments made agreements limiting that class of combat vessels in which we were superior, but refused limitation in the class in which they were superior. We made altogether the heaviest sacrifice in scrapping work which was already in existence.

That should forever remain not only a satisfaction to ourselves, but a demonstration to others of our good faith in advocating the principle of limitation. At that time we had twenty-three cruisers and ten more nearly completed. One of these has since been lost, and twenty-two are nearly obsolete. To replace these, we have started building eight.

The British have since begun and completed seven, are building eight and have five more authorized. When their present legislation is carried out they would have sixty-eight cruisers. When ours is carried out, we would have forty. It is obvious that, eliminating all competition, world standards of defense require us to have more cruisers.

This was the situation when I requested another conference, which the British and Japanese attended, but to which Italy and France did not come. The United States there proposed a limitation of cruiser tonnage of 250,000 to 300,000 tons. As near as we could figure out their proposal, the British asked for from 425,000 to 600,000 tons. As it appeared to us that to agree to so large a tonnage constituted not a limitation, but an extension of war fleets, no agreement was made.

Since that time no progress seems to have been made. In fact, the movements have been discouraging. During last Summer France and England made a tentative offer which would limit the kind of cruisers and submarines adapted to the use of the

United States, but left without limit the kind adapted to their use.

The United States, of course, refused to accept this offer. Had we done so, the French Army and the English Navy would be so near unlimited that the principle of limitations would be virtually abandoned. The nations have already accomplished much in the way of limitations, and we hope may accomplish more when the preliminary conference called by the League of Nations is reconvened.

Meantime, the United States and other nations have been successfully engaged in undertaking to establish additional safeguards and securities to the peace of the world by another method. Throughout all history war has been occurring until it has come to be recognized by custom and practice as having a certain legal standing. It has been regarded as the last resort, and has too frequently been the first.

When it was proposed that this traditional attitude should be modified between the United States and France, we replied that it should be modified among all nations. As a result, representatives of fifteen Powers have met in Paris and signed a treaty which condemns recourse to war, renounces it as a national policy, and pledges themselves not to seek to resolve their differences except by peaceful action.

While this leaves the questions of national defense and limitation of armaments practically where they were, as the negative supports of peace, it discards all threat of force and approaches the subject on its positive side. For the first time in the world the leading Powers bind themselves to adjust disputes without recourse to force.

While recognizing to the fullest extent the duty of self-defense, and not undertaking, as no human ingenuity could undertake, an absolute guarantee against war, it is the most complete and will be the most effective instrument for peace that was ever devised.

So long as promises can be broken and treaties can be violated we can have no positive assurances, yet every one knows they are additional safeguards. We can only say that this is the best that mortal man can do. It is beside the mark to argue that we should not put faith in it. The whole scheme of human society, the whole progress of civilization, requires that we should have faith in men and in nations. There is no other positive power on which we could rely. All the values that have ever been created, all the progress that has ever been made, declare that our faith is justified.

For the cause of peace the United States is adopting the only practical principles that have ever been proposed, of preparation, limitation and renunciation. The progress that the world has made in this direction in the last ten years surpasses all the progress ever before made.

Recent developments have brought to us not only a new economic but a new political relationship to the rest of the world. We have been constantly debating what our attitude ought to be toward the European nations. Much of our position is already revealed by the record. It can truthfully be characterized as one of patience, consideration, restraint and assistance.

We have accepted settlement of obliga-



tions, not in accordance with what was due, but in accordance with the merciful principle of what our debtors could pay. We have given of our counsel when asked, and of our resources for constructive purposes, but we have carefully refrained from all intervention which was unsought or which we believed would be ineffective, and we have not wished to contribute to the support of armaments. Whatever assistance we may have given to finishing the war, we feel free from any responsibility for beginning it. We do not wish to finance preparation for a future war.

We have heard an impressive amount of discussion concerning our duty to Europe. Our own people have supplied considerable quantities of it. Europe itself has expressed very definite ideas on this subject. We do have such duties. We have acknowledged them and tried to meet them. They are not all on one side, however. They are mutual.

We have sometimes been reproached for lecturing Europe, but probably ours are not the only people who sometimes engage in gratuitous criticism and advice. We have also been charged with pursuing a policy of isolation. We are not the only people, either, who desire to give their attention to their own affairs.

It is quite evident that both of these claims cannot be true. I think no informed person at home or abroad would blame us for not intervening in affairs which are peculiarly the concern of others to adjust, or when we are asked for help for stating clearly the terms on which we are willing to respond.

Immediately following the war we went to the rescue of friend and foe alike in Europe on the grounds of humanity. Later our experts joined with their experts in making a temporary adjustment of German reparations and securing the evacuation of the Ruhr. Our people lent \$110,000,000 to Germany to put that plan into immediate effect. Since 1924 Germany has paid on reparations about \$1,300,000,000, and our people have lent to national, State and municipal governments and to corporations in Germany a little over \$1,100,000,000. It could not be claimed that this money is the entire source from which reparations have been directly paid, but it must have been a large factor in rendering Germany able to pay. We also lent large sums to the Governments and corporations in other countries to aid in their financial rehabilitation.

I have several times stated that such ought to be our policy. But there is little reason for sending capital abroad while rates for money in London and Paris are at four or five per cent., while ours are much higher. England is placing very considerable loans abroad; France has had large credits abroad, some of which have been called home. Both are making very large outlays for military purposes.

Europe on the whole has arrived at a state of financial stability and prosperity where it cannot be said we are called on to help or act much beyond a strict business basis. The needs of our own people require that any further advances by us must have most careful consideration.

For the United States not to wish Europe to prosper would be not only a selfish, but an entirely unenlightened view. We want the investment of life and money which we

have made there to be to their benefit. We should like to have our Government debts all settled, although it is probable that we could better afford to lose them than our debtors could afford not to pay them. Divergent standards of living among nations involve many difficult problems.

We intend to preserve our high standards of living, and we should like to see all other countries on the same level. With a wholehearted acceptance of republican institutions, with the opening of opportunity to individual initiative, they are certain to make much progress in that direction.

It is always plain that Europe and the United States are lacking in mutual understanding. We are prone to think they can do as we can do. We are not interested in their age-old animosities, we have not suffered from centuries of violent hostilities. We do not see how difficult it is for them to displace distrust in each other with faith in each other.

On the other hand, they appear to think that we are going to do exactly what they would do if they had our chance. If they would give a little more attention to our history and judge us a little more closely by our own record, and especially find out in what directions we believe our real interests to lie, much which they now appear to find obscure would be quite apparent.

We want peace not only for the same reason that every other nation wants it, because we believe it to be right, but because war would interfere with our progress. Our interests all over the earth are such that a conflict anywhere would be enormously to our disadvantage.

If we had not been in the World War, in spite of some profit we made in exports, whichever side had won, in the end our losses would have been very great. We are against aggression and imperialism not only because we believe in local self-government, but because we do not want more territory inhabited by foreign people. Our exclusion of immigration should make that plain. Our outlying possessions, with the exception of the Panama Canal Zone, are not a help to us, but a hindrance. We hold them, not as a profit, but as a duty.

We want limitation of armaments for the welfare of humanity. We are not merely seeking our own advantage in this, as we do not need it, or attempting to avoid expense, as we can bear it better than any one else.

If we could secure a more complete reciprocity in good-will, the final liquidation of the balance of our foreign debts, and such further limitation of armaments as would be commensurate with the treaty renouncing war, our confidence in the effectiveness of any additional efforts on our part to assist in the further progress of Europe would be greatly increased.

As we contemplate the past ten years, there is every reason to be encouraged. It has been a period in which human freedom has been greatly extended, in which the right of self-government has come to be more widely recognized. Strong foundations have been laid for the support of these principles.

We should by no means be discouraged because practice lags behind principle. We

make progress slowly and over a course which can tolerate no open spaces. It is a long distance from a world that walks by force to a world that walks by faith. The United States has been so placed that it could advance with little interruption along the road of freedom and faith.

It is befitting that we should pursue our course without exultation, with due humil-

ity, and with due gratitude for the important contributions of the more ancient nations which have helped to make possible our present progress and our future hope. The gravest responsibilities that can come to a people in this world have come to us. We must not fail to meet them in accordance with the requirements of conscience and righteousness.

## The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

FOUR especially important meetings began in Geneva in October, and though not concluded at the moment of writing, are worthy of mention. First, a conference of government experts on double taxation and fiscal evasion from twenty-eight countries, including the United States, met to give final consideration to four draft treaties elaborated as a result of eight years of intense labor and study on this fundamental question of international finance. Second, the Economic Committee came together, also with an American member, to discuss commercial policy, most-favored-nation clauses, reduction of tariffs on certain products, and the world inquiries into coal and sugar. Third, the Health Committee began its regular Fall session with a program extending into every continent and covering many of the most important questions in international health relations. Finally, the Mandates Commission began its fourteenth session to examine the annual reports of certain mandated territories in Asia Minor, Africa and the Pacific, and to consider certain petitions and questions of a general nature.

Several interesting communications were also received by the League of Nations during the month. The Persian Government, following the precedent of Great Britain and France, formally transmitted its correspondence with the United States on the Pact for the Renunciation of War and asked for its communication to all member States. In accepting the Pact Persia said it considered it in harmony with its peaceful policy, with the obligations of the League and with the right of legitimate self-defense, and stressed the point that "the reservations made by certain Powers

can in no case and at no time lay Persia under any obligation to recognize any possible claims of a nature to infringe her territorial or maritime rights and possessions."

Similarly, two communications were received from the United States Government. One carried an acceptance of the invitation to send a delegation to the diplomatic conference on economic statistics which, it is hoped, will greatly increase the value of such data by securing not only a certain uniformity of method amongst the various countries but also an appreciable extension of the fields covered. The second carried the refusal of the United States Government to collaborate in the appointment of the Opium Central Board created by the Convention drawn up at the 1925 Geneva Conference from which the American delegation withdrew. While, the note said, this Convention represents an improvement over the 1912 Hague Convention in the matter of manufactured drugs and the control of transportation, it is nevertheless unacceptable to the American Government, notably because it deals inadequately with the limitation of the production of raw opium and coca leaves to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world and with the control of the production and distribution of all opium and coca leaf derivatives, and furthermore tends to destroy the unity of purpose and joint responsibility of the Powers established at the Hague. However, the United States Government agreed to furnish such information as requested by the Board and forwarded, in another communication through the Dutch Government, its report of seizures of drugs for the past year.

Early in the month it was announced that, after consultation with the Chinese

Government, the Deputy-Secretary-General, M. Avenol, would go on a mission to Nanking in order to pay a visit of courtesy and make closer the relations between China and the League. Similarly, on the invitation of the Polish Government, the Secretary-General, accompanied by M. Sugimura, Under-Secretary-General, was to go to Warsaw. Finally, it is interesting to note that the

first telephone communication from the seat of the League to the American Continent took place in the form of a message to Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr. that arrangements had been concluded for the site of the new League buildings, including the \$2,000,000 library which he presented to the League a year ago.

Geneva, October, 1928.

#### THE UNITED STATES

## The Aftermath of the Election

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

THE Presidential contest which resulted in Mr. Hoover's election, as recorded in the opening pages of this magazine, engrossed the minds, claimed the emotions and monopolized the conversation of the American people, of whom more than 36,000,000 flocked to the polls on Nov. 6 to register their votes. Motives, complicated and contradictory, as shown by the analyses presented elsewhere in this magazine, resulted in the following distribution of votes in the several States, the figures being the latest estimates at this date (Nov. 15), since final results will not be known until the official canvass of the States has been completed some time in December:



Well, I reckon there's always room for one more  
—Kalamazoo Gazette

#### THE VOTE BY STATES

State	Hoover	Smith	Plurality	Hoover
Ala. ....	113,217	127,990	14,773	
Ariz. ....	51,900	38,445	13,455	
Ark. ....	82,738	121,206	38,468	
Cal. ....	1,154,022	620,934	533,088	
Col. ....	247,428	131,544	115,884	
Conn. ....	295,109	251,068	44,041	
Del. ....	69,986	35,359	33,627	
Fla. ....	144,401	104,459	39,942	
Ga. ....	98,550	128,077	29,527	
Idaho ....	100,176	55,185	44,991	
Ill. ....	1,766,326	1,328,980	437,346	
Ind. ....	844,963	561,980	282,983	
Iowa ....	607,850	370,285	237,565	
Kan. ....	514,731	197,358	317,373	
Ky. ....	561,152	376,832	184,320	
La. ....	50,260	170,160	119,900	
Me. ....	181,028	81,147	99,891	
Md. ....	299,057	222,546	76,511	
Mass. ....	771,828	793,530	21,702	
Mich. ....	995,586	404,482	591,104	
Minn. ....	581,778	401,035	180,743	
Miss. ....	30,955	121,975	91,020	
Mo. ....	845,721	674,001	171,720	
Mont. ....	115,176	81,931	33,245	
Neb. ....	334,796	191,309	143,489	
Nev. ....	18,544	14,128	4,416	
N. H. ....	115,324	80,692	34,632	
N. J. ....	923,827	617,194	306,633	
N. M. ....	81,242	50,419	30,823	
N. Y. ....	2,176,292	2,078,800	97,492	
N. C. ....	325,230	274,916	50,314	
N. D. ....	131,424	105,820	25,604	
Ohio ....	1,602,795	856,117	746,678	
Okla. ....	393,040	220,564	172,476	
Ore. ....	205,338	108,917	96,421	
Pa. ....	2,051,040	1,060,804	990,236	
R. I. ....	117,478	118,930	1,452	
S. C. ....	5,602	92,235	86,633	
S. D. ....	157,993	102,303	55,690	
Tenn. ....	192,860	154,180	38,680	
Texas ....	365,811	343,392	22,419	
Utah ....	95,228	82,817	12,411	
Vt. ....	90,768	44,888	45,880	
Va. ....	165,510	140,995	24,515	
Wash. ....	357,052	157,906	199,146	
W. Va. ....	371,150	264,890	106,260	
Wis. ....	552,600	457,880	94,720	
Wyo. ....	53,440	29,878	23,562	

Totals . . 21,409,215 15,042,366  
Plurality—Hoover, 6,356,849.



The precarious position of the Republicans in the present Senate was changed by the election into a comfortable majority. Five incumbent Democrats were unseated and seven new Republican Senators were elected. As a result the next Senate will include fifty-five Republicans, thirty-nine Democrats and one Farmer-Laborite, with one seat, that of William S. Vare of Pennsylvania, vacant. The following line-up shows what happened in the election of Nov. 6:

#### SENATORS ELECTED

##### REPUBLICANS: 24

California.....	Hiram W. Johnson
Connecticut.....	F. C. Walcott
Delaware.....	John G. Townsend Jr.*
Idaho.....	John Thomas
Illinois.....	Otis F. Glenn*
Indiana.....	A. R. Robinson
Maine.....	Frederick Hale
Maryland.....	P. L. Goldsborough*
Michigan.....	A. H. Vandenberg
Missouri.....	R. C. Patterson*
Nebraska.....	Robert B. Howell
New Jersey.....	Hamilton F. Kean*
New Mexico.....	Bronson Cutting
New Mexico.....	O. A. Larrazolo
North Dakota.....	Lynn J. Frazier
Ohio.....	Simeon D. Fess
Ohio.....	T. E. Burton
Pennsylvania.....	David A. Reed
Rhode Island.....	Felix Hebert*
Vermont.....	Frank L. Greene
Wisconsin.....	R. M. La Follette Jr.
West Virginia.....	Henry D. Hatfield*
Washington.....	C. C. Dill

##### DEMOCRATS: 12

Arizona.....	Henry F. Ashurst
Florida.....	Park Trammell
Massachusetts.....	David I. Walsh
Mississippi.....	H. D. Stephens
Montana.....	Burton K. Wheeler
Nevada.....	Key Pittman
New York.....	Royal S. Copeland
Tennessee.....	Kenneth McKellar
Texas.....	Tom Conally*
Utah.....	William H. King
Virginia.....	C. A. Swanson
Wyoming.....	J. B. Kendrick

##### FARMER-LABORITE: 1

Minnesota.....	Henrik Shipstead
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\*New Senators.

#### SENATORS DEFEATED

##### DEMOCRATS

Delaware.....	Thomas F. Bayard
Maryland.....	William C. Bruce
New Jersey.....	E. I. Edwards
Rhode Island.....	Peter G. Gerry
West Virginia.....	M. M. Neely

A prominent candidate who was defeated was Alanson B. Houghton, Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Upon his nomination to the Senate by the New York State Republican convention, Mr. Houghton returned to this country and handed his resig-

nation to President Coolidge. Mr. Houghton's resignation not having been formally accepted, the Ambassador resumed his post in London.

One of the interesting features of the election was that eleven States split their State and Federal tickets, electing a Governor of one party and Presidential Electors of the other. Of the eleven States which elected Democratic Governors, only two, Arkansas and Georgia, went for Smith. On the other hand, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which likewise went for Smith, Republican Governors were elected. The following States participated, Maine having chosen a Republican Governor in September:

#### GOVERNORS ELECTED

##### DEMOCRATS: 11

Arkansas.....	Harvey Parnell
Colorado.....	William H. Adams*
Florida.....	Doyle E. Carlton
Georgia.....	L. G. Hardman*
Montana.....	John E. Erickson*
New York.....	Franklin D. Roosevelt
North Carolina.....	O. Max Gardner
South Dakota.....	William J. Bulow*
Tennessee.....	Henry H. Horton*
Texas.....	Dan Moody*
Utah.....	George H. Dern*

##### REPUBLICANS: 23

Arizona.....	John C. Phillips
Connecticut.....	John H. Trumbull*
Delaware.....	C. Douglass Buck
Idaho.....	H. C. Baldridge*
Illinois.....	Louis L. Emmerson
Indiana.....	Harry G. Leslie
Iowa.....	John Hammill*
Kansas.....	Clyde M. Reed
Massachusetts.....	Frank Allen
Michigan.....	Fred W. Green*
Minnesota.....	T. Christianson*
Missouri.....	Henry S. Caulfield
Nebraska.....	Arthur J. Weaver
New Hampshire.....	C. W. Tobey
New Jersey.....	Morgan F. Larson
New Mexico.....	Richard C. Dillon*
North Dakota.....	George F. Shafer
Ohio.....	Myers Y. Cooper
Rhode Island.....	Norman S. Case*
Vermont.....	John E. Weeks*
Washington.....	Roland H. Hartley*
West Virginia.....	William G. Conley
Wisconsin.....	Walter J. Kohler

\*Re-elected.

On being informed of his victory at Palo Alto, Cal., Mr. Hoover, on Nov. 7 issued the following message to the American people:

I can make no adequate expression of gratitude for the overwhelming confidence of our people, who without regard to section or interest have selected me for President of the whole United States.

There has been a vindication of great issues and a determination of the true road of



## WHO WON THE WAR?

—New York Tribune

progress. The Republican Party has again been assessed with a great responsibility.

In this hour there can be for me no feeling of victory or exultation. Rather it imposes a sense of solemn responsibility of the future and of complete dependence upon divine guidance for the task which the greatest office in the world imposes.

That task is to give the best within me to interpret the common sense and the ideals of the American people.

I can only succeed in my part by the co-operation and unity of all leaders of opinion and of action for the common service of our country.

HERBERT HOOVER.

It was with widespread approval that the announcement was received two days later of Mr. Hoover's plan to make a goodwill tour of the Latin-American countries. It was generally supposed that Mr. Hoover undertook this trip for two reasons—to pave the way for more friendly relations with Latin America, a considerable section of which now regards the United States

with distrust and hostility; and to rescue the President-elect from the importunities of office seekers and others. The plans included Mr. Hoover's departure on Nov. 19 from San Pedro, Cal., on the battleship Maryland, which would cruise southward along the West Coast, stopping off at Balboa, Panama. At Valparaiso, Chile, Mr. Hoover planned to board a train and cross the Andes to Buenos Aires, Argentina. The return home on a battleship of the Atlantic Fleet contemplated stops at Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro and possibly Mexico City. South American countries expressed enthusiasm over the proposed visit and predicted elaborate receptions for the President-elect.

On the day after the election Governor Smith announced that, after twenty-five years of political life, he would never again run for public office. In a farewell radio address on Nov. 13, the Governor reaffirmed his faith in the principles for which

he had fought. "The principles for which the Democratic Party stands are as sacred in defeat as they would have been in victory," he asserted. "If the cause of democracy was right be-



"I thought you were real mad"

—The World

fore the election, it is still right, and it is our duty to carry on and vindicate the principles for which we fought." He advocated cooperation for the general welfare rather than "obstruction and opposition for political purposes only," and saw hope for the Democratic Party in the building up of a constructive program in the next four years.

One of the most shocking disasters at sea occurred on Nov. 12, when the Lamport & Holt passenger steamer *Vestris* sank about 250 miles off the Virginia Capes. Of the 328 passengers and crew, 206 were saved by other vessels, the remaining men, women and children being lost either with the ship or in lifeboats which capsized.

#### MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

## Nicaragua Elects Moncada President

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS;  
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

AS a result of a general election, held under United States supervision on Nov. 4, General José María Moncada, Liberal, was elected to the Presidency of Nicaragua for the four-year term beginning Jan. 1, 1929. Returns received up to Nov. 9 from all but four precincts gave General Moncada a majority of 19,556 votes over his Conservative opponent, Adolfo Benard. A total of 132,000 votes, approximately 83 per cent. of the total registration, was cast. The next Congress will be fairly evenly balanced between Conservatives and Liberals. The Senate, to which a third of its members were elected on Nov. 4, will have twelve Conservatives and twelve Liberals. The Chamber of Deputies, one-half of whose membership was elected on Nov. 4, will have twenty-two Conservatives and twenty-one Liberals.

The election, in accordance with the general provisions of the Stimson peace terms that were imposed upon warring Liberals and Conservatives alike in 1927, was supervised by Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy of the United States Army. General McCoy, on the nomination of President Coolidge, was designated by the Nicaraguan Supreme Court on March 17 as President of the National Board of Elections; subsequently by a decree of President Díaz he was vested with "full and general authority" to supervise the election. To insure a free and fair election the most extraordinary precautions had been taken by General McCoy, and these were made effective by the presence of approximately 7,000 United States Ma-

rines and Bluejackets, approximately 2,000 of whom were landed from the vessels composing the special service squadron in the week preceding the election. The armed forces of the United States, augmenting the Nicaraguan National Guard, were distributed throughout the country to suppress



Wide World

BRIG. GEN. FRANK R. MCCOY  
Appointed by President Coolidge to supervise the Nicaraguan elections of Nov. 4





Map of Central America, showing the position of Nicaragua

possible disorders and to insure freedom of the ballot. In addition twenty airplanes covered the entire country on election day, flying over and communicating with every voting booth; the same operation was repeated the day after the election in order to insure the safety of the ballot boxes. As a result of these precautions, Nicaragua had what was undeniably the fairest election in its history. Reports from the area recently menaced by the Sandinista rebels showed a heavy vote cast without trouble.

Registration of voters in Nicaragua before the election was the largest on record. General McCoy reported to the Department of State on Oct. 13 as follows: "Figures which are still incomplete indicate that the number of voters registered will slightly exceed 150,000, which is 25 per cent. more than in 1924. There is an increase over 1924 in every department, although the increase is small in Nueva Segovia. In Jinotega, in spite of recent disorders, the increase was over 20 per cent." In a previous report General McCoy stated that "the

large increase this year is considered due to the measures taken by the marines and the Nicaraguan National Guard to protect citizens from intimidation by their political opponents." The registration of the Nicaraguan voters was completed without serious disorder and without reports of any person being molested at registration places, according to a report sent to the Navy Department on Oct. 10 by Rear Admiral David F. Sellers, Commander of the Special Service Squadron in Nicaragua. In a statement issued on Oct. 28, General McCoy said: "In previous elections most of the disturbances have been caused by liquor. The restriction of the sale of liquor during the registration was so successful that we did not have a single case of serious disorder in any precinct of the country." Satisfaction with American supervision of registration of voters was expressed by Conservative and Liberal leaders in Nicaragua on Oct. 10, three days after the registration had been completed.

In addition to sanctioning the supervision

of this year's election by the United States, leaders of both parties in Nicaragua late in October went on record as favoring similar supervision in 1932. The suggestion was made by General Moncada, the nominee of the Liberal Party, to Señor Benard, the nominee of the Conservative Party. This was characterized on Oct. 24 by Secretary of State Kellogg as gratifying to the Department of State and complimentary to American officials in Nicaragua.

After the registration of voters the Sandinista rebels resorted late in October to efforts to terrorize citizens, even perpetrating "most revolting" murders, the purpose being to interfere with the November elections. This was indicated in an official report by General McCoy which was made public by the Department of State on Oct. 22. The outrages were held to be the work of Pedro Altamirano, one of the lieutenants of General Sandino.

## OTHER EVENTS IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

MEXICO—Rapid progress was made during October and early November in the legal disposition of the cases against those persons charged with the murder of President-elect Obregón. The Supreme Court handed down a decision on Oct. 13 which freed as innocent three persons who had been held for the crime, but ruled that José de León Toral, Mother Superior María Concepción Acevedo y de la Llata and eleven others must abide by the verdict of a public jury for their alleged part in the crime. The Court's decision held further that Toral must face the charge of murder, Mother Concepción that of direct complicity in the murder, and the others that of complicity in the murder or in the bombing of the Chamber of Deputies or in throwing dynamite shells into General Obregón's coach in an attempt to murder him.

After being freed of charges of complicity in the assassination of Obregón, Carlos Castro Balda pleaded guilty on Oct. 24 to damaging Federal property with a bomb which exploded in the building of the Chamber of Deputies. Balda pleaded not guilty to a charge of participation in a plot against President Calles, but denied any intention of endangering the lives of national legislators. He testified that his sole object in bombing the building was to alarm the Deputies and impress the national legislature with the necessity of modifying the Constitution and laws relating to religion so that they would be more favorable to Catholics.

Toral, having been formally charged with the assassination of Obregón, went to trial for his life in the district court at San Angel on Nov. 2. Arraigned with him was Mother Superior Concepción, whose im-

prisonment for twenty years as the alleged "intellectual author" of the crime was sought by the Government. Toral, in the course of a series of "declarations," testified with reference to the assassination: "I acted for the good of all Catholics. It was a mission of God. I did not know exactly what immediate results the assassination would bring, but I was confident it would bring relief to Catholics."

The case, which aroused such general interest that the court proceedings of the first three days were broadcast by the Department of Education, lasted seven days. Toral made a frank admission of the crime and went into great detail concerning the formulation of his plan, for which he assumed sole responsibility. He also drew a lurid picture of his alleged torture by the police in their endeavor to learn his name and the names of others who might be implicated with him in the crime. The jury hearing the two cases returned on Nov. 8 a verdict of guilty of murder in the case of Toral, and, in the case of Mother Concepción, guilty of being the "intellectual author" of the crime. Toral was then sentenced to death by a firing squad and Mother Concepción to twenty years imprisonment. Notice of appeal from the Court's decision was given by the defense attorneys.

Prospects brightened for the early passage of congressional enabling acts for the unenforced provisions of the Constitution that are designed to effect labor and social reforms when on Oct. 20 President-elect Portes Gil made the following announcement: "One of my first acts on becoming Provisional President of the Republic will be to send to the Chamber of Deputies and Senate a project for a labor law and work-

man's insurance." Señor Portes Gil amplified his statement by asserting that the projected legislation included provisions establishing the eight-hour day, the six-day week and a minimum wage; forbidding night work in industry by women and by children under sixteen years of age; and providing other reforms designed to aid women and child workers.

A spirited attack on the Calles Government attended the adoption by the Chamber of Deputies on Oct. 8 of a resolution designating the late General Alvaro Obregón "the well-merited of his country," and instructing that his name, together with the above phrase, be engraved in letters of gold on a wall of the Chamber. The attack was led by the Agrarian leaders, Señores Aurelio Manrique and Antonio Soto y Gama, who contended that General Calles had governed through the Labor Party and that he was formulating plans to perpetuate *caudillo*, or one-man power, in Mexico through a proposed "Grand National Revolutionary Party," designed to preserve the "revolutionary principles" of the Obregón-Calles régime of the past eight years and to be headed by Calles himself at the conclusion of his Presidential term on Nov. 30. The Agrarian critics argued that a mistake was being made in cherishing the memory of Obregón as a *caudillo* instead of recognizing his outstanding achievements as a patron of education and as a benefactor of the people. They declared that on the assumption of the Presidency by Portes Gil the Agrarian Party would remain an independent and separate entity.

Preliminary steps were taken during October and the early part of November to reach a new agreement between the Mexican Government and the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico to cover Mexico's obligations with respect to her foreign debt. Representatives of the bankers, headed by Arthur M. Anderson of J. P. Morgan & Co., went to Mexico City in mid-October for conferences with Mexican Government officials. Following their departure the Ministry of Finance issued the following statement:

During the last three weeks preliminary conferences have been held between the Minister of Finance, aided by a special Government commission, and representatives of the International Bankers' Committee on Mexico in order to formulate general prin-

ciples on which a new agreement between the Mexican Government and the holders of bonds of the direct debt of Mexico can be based.

The discussions also touched upon the problem of the indebtedness of the National Railways of Mexico, of which the Government is the owner of a majority of shares, and an exchange of views has been held in order to improve the condition of the system.

The conferences were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding of the difficulties which will have to be overcome, and appreciation of the necessity that any agreement which may be signed must be just for the bondholders and subject to Mexico's capacity to pay, while taking into consideration the necessity that Mexico shall regain her credit abroad.

The Mexican Government has considered the problem of the foreign debt as an integral part of a general problem in which are included obligations of another character, and thus expresses itself:

"The representatives of the International Bankers' Committee are returning to New York to report to their headquarters there and to the European sections. When their report has been studied, the necessary steps will be taken for the adoption of a definite agreement on Mexico's foreign indebtedness, an agreement which will be subject to ratification by the Mexican Congress and approbation by the bondholders as represented by the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico."

The United States-Mexican General Claims Commission, after being in session in Mexico City since Sept. 7, adjourned on Oct. 18 and will resume its sessions in Washington on Feb. 18, 1929. After the adjournment of the commission, the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations announced "that at that session twenty-five claims were presented, eight of them being rejected. The amount of the claims considered was \$460,000 in round figures, which was reduced by the arbitration tribunal to \$80,000."

The Southwestern Educational Association of the United States and Mexico was tentatively organized at a meeting in El Paso, Texas, in mid-October, of instructors in the border States of the two countries. The association has as its objects the establishing of a uniform educational system in the two nations and the promotion of better understanding between the people of the two countries through recognition of mutual school problems.

**PANAMA**—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the independence of Panama was fittingly celebrated by citizens and Government officials on Nov. 3. A congratula-



tory message was sent to Señor Arosemena, President of the republic, by President Coolidge.

**HONDURAS**—As a result of Presidential elections held on Oct. 28, Dr. Vincent Mejía Colindres and Rafael Díaz Chávez were elected by a majority of approximately 12,000 votes, President and Vice President, respectively, of Honduras. At the outset of the campaign there were three nominees for the Presidency; namely, General Vicente Tosta of the Republican Party, Dr. José María Ochoa Valásquez of the Liberal Party and General Tiburcio Carias of the Conservative Party, the present President of Congress. The withdrawals of General Tosta and Dr. Velásquez were followed by the fusion of their respective parties into a strong opposition party called the Partido Liberal Republicano. This party thereupon nominated Dr. Colindres and Señor Chávez for President and Vice President, respectively. On Nov. 2 the congratulations of

United States Minister Summerlin were personally extended to President-elect Colindres—an act that was interpreted in Tegucigalpa as an informal recognition of the forthcoming Administration.

**CUBA**—In general elections held on Nov. 2, General Gerardo Machado was re-elected President of Cuba for the ensuing six-year term. President Machado was unopposed by reason of the coalition last April of the three major political parties and his selection by each party as its candidate.

That the repeal of the Platt amendment, which authorizes the supervision of Cuba by the United States, would be welcomed by Cuba was asserted by President Machado on Oct. 8 in an address delivered at the official opening of the thirtieth annual convention of the United Spanish War Veterans in Havana. President Machado stated that Cuba enjoys entire sovereignty and that her national evolution has made the Platt amendment morally non-existent.

#### *SOUTH AMERICA*

## Irigoyen's Election to the Presidency of Argentina

By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN

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**T**HE change of administration in Argentina on Oct. 12 ended the rule of Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear and ushered in that of Dr. Hipólito Irigoyen. The peaceful manner in which the change was made is another proof of the political stability and national solidarity of the republic. The new executive, who is over 70 years of age and who has been prominent in the political life of Argentina for over forty years, has an almost uncanny hold upon the affections of the masses of the Argentine people.

The retiring Government, following the custom of many of its predecessors, had invited foreign countries to send special Ambassadors and Ministers to the inauguration. Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Vene-

zuela, Belgium, Germany, Japan, Portugal, and Spain accepted the invitation and sent delegations or designated representatives to act in such a capacity. In the presence of the Congress Dr. Irigoyen took the oath of office, and without delivering an address, went to the Government House, where Dr. de Alvear turned over to him the reins of government. Dr. de Alvear has the satisfaction of knowing that the Administration over which he has presided for the past six years was one of very great importance in the history of Argentina. It is generally felt that he advanced the interests of his countrymen both at home and abroad, and that his country has easily remained the leader of Hispanic America in its relations to American and non-American Powers.

Among the first acts of President Iri-

goyen was the appointment of his Ministers. Dr. Elpidio González, the retiring Vice-President of the Republic, became Minister of the Interior, and the seven other Ministers were appointed as follows: Horacio B. Oyhanarte, Foreign Relations and Religion; Enrique Pérez Colmán, Finance; Juan de la Campa, Justice and Public Instruction; Juan B. Fleitas, Agriculture; José B. Abalos, Public Works; General Luis J. Dellepiane, War; Rear Admiral Tomás Zurneta, Marine.

Dr. Irigoyen's career before his election to the Presidency of the republic in 1916 was an unusually stormy one. He began his political career as a radical and a revolutionary. Between 1890 and 1911 he was active in and out of season in an effort to wrest the political power from the hands of the so-called "cattle aristocracy" in order to give it to the masses. It was in the latter year that he achieved his greatest victory by obtaining the enactment of the law providing for compulsory and secret balloting in all provincial and national elections. This led to the defeat of the political bosses in the elections of 1912 and 1916 and to the nomination of Irigoyen for the Presidency. He then inaugurated a practice to which he has rigidly adhered ever since, namely, that of abstaining from taking any part in the Presidential campaign. He would make no speeches, did not make any in the campaign of 1916 nor in that of 1928, and adhered to his idea that if the people wanted him they would elect him without any assistance from himself. He won his election in 1916 by a majority of only two votes, but this year by a very large majority. Never has Argentina known an inauguration such as that of 1916.

Regarded by the masses as the apostle of social and political equality, he gained additional prestige through his first administration. He kept his country out of war; attempted to bring about a union of the neutrals to fight for their rights; was among the very first to accept the invitation to become a member of the League of Nations; tried, though in vain, at the first Assembly of the League of Nations, to democratize that body by a provision amending the League Covenant so as to admit to membership in the League all the nations of the world and to give to all the different

parts of the world a fair share of representation in the governing bodies of the League; and, after failing to bring about such improvement in the League, withdrew his delegation from the League Assembly and refrained from participating in the major activities of the League during the remainder of his administration. So strongly did he impress his views upon the Argentine people that President de Alvear was unable to reverse that policy. In handling the troubled conditions in his country after the war Irigoyen displayed the greatest firmness, and when a successor to President de Alvear had to be found, no man stood out more conspicuously as suitable for the position.

Irigoyen, as stated above, and as many students of Argentine political life declare, has an almost uncanny hold upon the masses. The Liberal Party has been divided into two parts, it is true; but its Left Wing has really become an Irigoyen Party, a Personalista Party. The party has no program. Irigoyen has no program because he believes that the Constitution is his platform and that of his party. His followers believe in his nationalist principles, regard him as a friend of the common people, admire his sincerity, integrity, single-mindedness, disregard of money, and, above all, his deep and genuine love of humanity. He lives the life of a recluse, is untraveled, is inaccessible to interviewers and the curious, is clanish, obstinate, a generous friend, a relentless enemy, but able and willing to rule. He is a Porteño by birth, an individualist both by training and experience, schooled in the camp of his uncle, Leandro Alem, the leader of the Old Radical Party; a great scholar and, like many of the great men of the past of his country, a schoolman. Since 1890 he has been the greatest enemy of the Conservative Party. He is a born political leader and recognized as a political boss of very great ability. Like Rosas he knows the plains and the plainsmen, meeting cowboy and peon on their own level; and like Rosas, he gained their confidence and support by prowess as well as by his intellectual power. During the years between 1890 and 1911 he was a great campaigner, talking unceasingly, continually expounding his political and social ideas. He firmly be-

lieved, and he had the power to make others share his belief, that the day of entrenched privilege was passing and that the people would come into their own. To them, therefore, he was a prophet; and later even a messiah. Always he appeals to these people by his mode of life. He has never lived in the Casa Roca—the Presidential Palace of Buenos Aires—but in a modest place above a shop in the Calle Brasil.

It is believed by many that Irigoyen is the mysterious instrument of destiny. In a message to Congress in 1921, accompanying a veto, he gave expression to this idea: "I know that I am no ordinary executive, because, if I were, there would not have been a power on earth which could have forced me to take office. I am the supreme leader of the nation to obtain the just and legitimate aspirations of the Argentine people." He is absolutely fearless, is headstrong, and is his own guide. He is every inch an Argentine, and the acts of his Administration for which he will be responsible will be strongly nationalistic. The manner in which he has handled the controversy with Great Britain over the ownership of the South Orkney Islands and the Falkland Islands shows that he intends to have the rights of his country fully respected. Judged by the reports from Buenos Aires and other cities of Argentina, President Irigoyen has also succeeded in securing the confidence of the industrial and commercial interests of his country.

**BRAZIL**—The election in Rio de Janeiro has caused more than the usual interest. The Federal District is divided into two parts, each section of the city having twelve aldermen. The Republicans have usually had a monopoly of these positions. The movement for a party system in municipal government has made rapid progress of late. The result was that there were three parties in the field, each hoping to elect its candidates for these twenty-four positions. The Democratic Party and the Communist Party each elected two aldermen, thereby reducing the Republican majority to twenty. It is the hope of political reformers that the party system for municipalities will become nationwide. In this way it is believed that new vigor will be injected into municipal government and that

it will help to develop the nation's social and economic resources.

Certain sections of the republic continue to agitate against the policy of granting concessions to foreigners. The recent concession of 2,400,000 acres to Farias Coelho in the Amazon valley, which will go to the Firestone American rubber concern, has intensified this opposition. It is felt that these concessions to nationals of the United States, Japan and Poland are made on terms more advantageous than those to the Brazilians. The larger result is that an anti-foreign sentiment is being emphasized. The disturbances caused by students in São Paulo, Porto Alegre, and other places are said to be due to this fact. There can be no doubt about the intensification of Brazilian nationalism. There is nothing in the whole history of Brazil during the twentieth century that is more important than the development of its nationalism. The people are alarmed at the inroads which foreign capitalists are making into their natural resources. Hence the fear that too much will be given these concessionaries is genuine and real. The Brazilian people fear economic vassalage more than any other people in Hispanic America, and are determined to prevent such a state of affairs if at all possible. This is not to be confounded with hostility to capital in general, but is to be taken as evidence that foreign capital will be welcome only in proportion as it will aid in the development of the natural resources of Brazil for the good of the Brazilian people primarily.

**CHILE**—The proponents of the credit system as an aid in the development of agriculture in Chile point to the increase in acreage as a proof of the usefulness of the system. Over 2,000,000 more acres of land will be put into corn this year than last year, or an increase of 29 per cent. An increase of more than 13 per cent. in the land sowed to barley and of 77 per cent. in that sowed to oats is also promised. This is taken to mean that agriculture is in a fair way to become far more important than it has ever been.

**ECUADOR**—The new Minister from Ecuador to the United States, Señor Gonzalo Zaldumbide, has had a varied ex-



perience as a diplomat. He began his career as Secretary of the Ecuadorean Legation at Lima. From there he was sent to Paris in a like capacity. In 1920 he was promoted to the position of *Chargé d'Affaires* at Rome. He was then raised to the rank of a Minister, serving his country in that capacity in Great Britain, Belgium, and France. He was the chief of the delegation representing Ecuador at the Havana conference.

President Ayora was re-elected Provisional President by the Constituent Assembly on Oct. 10 by 55 out of the 57 votes of that body. He is to serve until such a time as shall be determined by the new Constitution. The Constituent Assembly also declared the present Constitution in force until the new one shall have been promulgated. In a message on Oct. 10, President Ayora expressed great faith in the promises of President Leguía of Peru that the boundary differences between the two countries would be amicably adjusted. This, he felt, would also be true of the differences between Ecuador and Colombia.

**PERU**—The return of Ambassador Moore and the visit to the United States of distinguished men from Peru have served to give that republic a great deal of publicity during the past month. Ambassador Moore took advantage of his conference with President Coolidge to declare that in the person of President Leguía Peru has an unusually able Chief Executive. Señor Foción Mariátegui, President of the Peruvian Chamber of Deputies, who has just visited the United States, was of course very enthusiastic in his praise of President Leguía and of the excellent condition in which Peru now finds herself.

Professor Robert Murray Haig of Columbia University has been appointed head of the Special Tax Commission which has been created to study the conditions of the republic with a view to recommend such changes and additions as the commission may deem necessary.

The adjournment of the Tacna-Arica Boundary Commission for four months to enable the Governments of Peru and Chile to begin direct negotiations (it is reported that such negotiations have already begun) is regarded as proof of the sincere desire of the two republics to put an end to their differences over these provinces.

**URUGUAY**—Dr. Benito M. Cuñarro has resigned from the High Court of Justice of Uruguay after twenty years' service. He held various offices as a member of the Liberal Party, the most important being that of President of the Chamber of Deputies.

The controversy between the United States and Colombia over the cancellation of the Barco Concession has aroused universal interest throughout Uruguay. *El Día*, the powerful daily of Montevideo and one of the influential papers of Hispanic America, has not failed to sound the tocsin of alarm at what it considers an unwarranted interference in the affairs of a sovereign and independent State. Denouncing the principle for which the United States Government is contending as wholly untenable and utterly impossible of admission, that newspaper declared that no one denies the right of a Government to protect its nationals in a foreign country; but such protection must be national and not individual or personal. It is a well-known fact, *El Día* continued, that the cause of the controversy between the United States and Colombia is primarily due to the desire of the former to do with Colombia what she did to Mexico—dictate what laws she shall pass, what amendments she shall make to her Constitution, and what opinions her courts shall hand down. The newspaper concluded by declaring that the seemingly innocent character of the principle of moral obligation to its nationals which the Coolidge Administration has seen fit to declare, is utterly untenable and inadmissible, and commends the Colombian Government on the stand it has taken.



## British Legislative Proposals in Pre-election Session

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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THE final session of the present British Parliament was opened by the King on Nov. 6. His speech indicated the importance which his Ministers attach to the Kellogg treaty for the renunciation of war by expressing pleasure that it had been accepted by Great Britain, "in the form proposed by the United States." He also alluded in terms of approval to the signature of the pact in Paris by the plenipotentiaries of the other Governments of the British Commonwealth. A friendly attitude toward China was indicated by the voicing of "a welcome to the efforts China is making to establish a central Government and cope with those forces of disorder which have distracted it for many years." It was also stated that Great Britain's support of the League of Nations was a "fixed policy."

The portion of the King's speech which dealt with domestic affairs indicated that the chief legislative measures to be presented during the present session will be those necessary for the realization of the Government's plans for the economic rehabilitation of the country. This scheme contemplates a reform of local government taxation which will abolish municipal taxes upon agricultural land and buildings, and reduce the present rates upon industrial and transportation properties by two-thirds. The national Treasury is to reimburse the local authorities for the income thus lost. In addition to stimulating agriculture, transportation and industry by relieving them of the burdens of heavy local taxation, the Government proposed to procure a material reduction in freight rates, especially those affecting coal, iron and steel products, by making Treasury grants to the railways. The plan also involves radical changes in the British scheme of local government. A number of intricate laws will be required to put it into effect, and the length of the present session will prob-

ably be determined by the time required to pass this legislation.

Further efforts on the part of the Government to deal with unemployment were indicated by the statement in the King's speech that increased borrowing powers would have to be granted to those in charge of the unemployment fund; and that legislation would be introduced to alleviate unemployment by the transference and emigration to other parts of the empire of men permanently out of work. The latter part of the scheme provides for the training of such men in agriculture and their settlement in the Dominions with Government assistance. The emigration of about 20,000 men per year, most of them miners, is contemplated.

During the early days of the session the opposition parties, as usual, attacked the policy of the Government by moving amendments to the reply to the address from the throne. Slashing attacks were made, especially by the Labor Party, upon the Anglo-French naval agreement. This accord Ramsay MacDonald declared, "was not an agreement to limit armaments; it was an agreement not to limit armaments. It sacrificed the most elementary considerations of Britain's safety except upon one sole consideration, that there would always be a pooling of our navy and the navy of the country across the Channel. Never has a proposal made by one Government to another been rejected so summarily and bluntly, and for such admirable reasons, as has this agreement been rejected by the Government of the United States." Speaking for the Government in the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury declared that the Anglo-French naval accord had been entirely dropped. Referring to the reception which the proposal received by the British public, the French public, and the United States Government, he said: "Undoubtedly the naval agreement is at an end. We were

confronted by a response to our effort which was not at all encouraging. I very much regret it. I really do not know how this disarmament problem \* \* \* is to be solved unless there are preliminary understandings which are at once communicated to the other interested parties. I do not see upon what other principle you could proceed." Mr. MacDonald, however, did not regard the attempt of the Government to establish this accord with France as a genuine effort to preserve peace. He accused the Conservatives of hampering the activities of the League of Nations while professing to cooperate with it, and of putting obstacles in the way of disarmament while pretending to assist the League in its work toward this end.

Although the exact date upon which Parliament will adjourn for the general election is not known, it is universally expected that the session will be terminated before the middle of May, and probably somewhat earlier. The intention of the Government

to press through its program of legislation as rapidly as possible was definitely indicated on Nov. 7, when Prime Minister Baldwin carried through the House of Commons a resolution which gave to the Government all the private members' time until Easter. A distinguished Labor member declared that such actions and excessive party discipline had reduced unofficial members of the House to "mere voting robots."

Referring to the Kellogg treaty, Prime Minister Baldwin in his speech at the Guildhall banquet on Nov. 9 said: "Believe me, the alternative before us in Europe is very simple and the choice ought to be easy. We must either keep faith with the spirit of the pact that we have signed, or in time we must go down the steep place all together like the Gaderene swine and perish eternally. Let us all tonight—and there are representatives here of many Great Powers—accept this opportunity which has been given to us for a new start and go forward with new faith and new hope."

## OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

**G**REAT BRITAIN—Labor rejoicing followed the triennial British municipal elections which on Nov. 1 resulted in a gain of nearly 200 council seats by the candidates of that party. The Conservatives were the heaviest losers in the municipal contests, and the Labor leaders declared that the outcome was a fair indication of what may be expected in the general election next Spring.

The long expected resignation of the Earl of Birkenhead as Secretary of State for India, was announced on Oct. 7. He was succeeded by Viscount Peel, who was Secretary for India in the first Baldwin Cabinet. Lord Peel's place as First Commissioner of Works was filled by the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry.

**A**USTRALIA—Industrial arbitration was the outstanding issue in the very heated campaign which preceded the general elections for the Commonwealth House of Representatives on Nov. 17. With the country still economically disorganized as a result of the dock workers' defiance of the Government which during September and early October attempted to enforce the law

providing for the arbitration of industrial disputes, Prime Minister Bruce cut the normal term of Parliament short in order to appeal to the people to support the principle of law and order against the "red" element in Australian labor unions. Such an appeal, following the great strike of 1925, virtually put the present Nationalist-Country Party combination in power at that time.

The program of the Labor Party included proposals for higher tariff protection for Australian industries, and a plan for borrowing only in Australia and expending the proceeds of loans on productive works. Labor also advocated an increase in the powers of the Commonwealth Government as distinct from those of the States, the abolition of a number of the Federal administrative commissions, and a revision of the laws which at present regulate the relations between capital and labor, including the Transport Workers act and the Arbitration act.

The annual financial statement of the Commonwealth, issued early in November, showed that there had been a deficit of £2,642,000 for the fiscal year 1927-1928. The chief cause of this condition was de-



clared to be a decline in the customs and excise receipts. Adverse seasons in several great sections of the Commonwealth, the Treasurer, Dr. Page, declared, had resulted in a serious reduction in the value of the primary products of the country. This reduction, in turn, led to a financial depression, high money rates and reduced credit advances, with the result that imports and the customs revenue were reduced.

**NEW ZEALAND**—Prime Minister J. G. Coates, in a manifesto issued on Oct. 15, set forth the grounds upon which his Government was to contest the general election in New Zealand. Chief among the policies advocated were measures for increasing production by inaugurating a progressive transport policy, developing water power, assisting primary producers, encour-

aging afforestation, establishing a scientific and industrial research department of the Government, and financially assisting small farmers. The Prime Minister also outlined a scheme for establishing small land-holdings for part-time rural workers, and assisting workers living on the outskirts of towns to engage in small farming industries. National contributory invalidity pensions were recognized as a need of the State.

**NEW FOUNDLAND**—Sir Richard Squires and the Liberal Party won a sweeping victory in the Newfoundland general elections held on Oct. 29. Every Minister in the Conservative Cabinet was defeated, with the exception of the Premier, Mr. F. C. Alderdice, and the opposition party gained an overwhelming majority in the Legislature. Sir Richard Squires was Prime Minister from 1919 to 1924.

#### FRANCE AND BELGIUM

## Poincaré's New Cabinet

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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**N**OV. 11, 1928, was a memorable day in contemporary French history. From the standpoint of past events, it marked the tenth anniversary of the signing of the armistice which closed the active struggle of the World War. From the standpoint of the outlook for the future, it was signalized by the re-formation of the Cabinet under Premier Poincaré after several weeks of uncertainty as to the fate of the National Union Ministry and a definite ministerial crisis that had lasted since the opening of Parliament on Nov. 6. Whether the changes in the constitution of the Ministry under Poincaré indicate that he is to have a further considerable lease of power, or whether the step presages the beginning of a period of short-lived and generally ineffective Ministries in succession—as was the case before the accession to power of the National Union Ministry in 1926, just twenty-seven months before its fall—it is difficult to predict. Certainly there are elements of weakness and instability both in the com-

position of the new Cabinet and in the feelings engendered during the weeks which preceded the resignation of the old one. A further weakness is found in the very thing that is Poincaré's greatest contribution to his country since the war—the stabilization of the franc. As long as the financial situation depended for its complete regeneration on official stabilization, Poincaré appeared to be the essential man. This, it will be remembered, was one of the chief arguments for the election of his supporters in the elections of last Spring. The relatively rapid accomplishment of this task, while naturally enhancing the prestige of Premier and Cabinet, at the same time took away the greatest source of support of the Ministry. Poincaré was no longer the essential man. Indeed, there were those who were unkind enough to intimate that his apparent reluctance to proceed with stabilization after his electoral triumph sprang from his realization that once this was accomplished his supporters would no

longer be bound to follow him unquestioningly. Events seem to have shown that his political judgment, if correctly interpreted, was sound. Government by blocs or by parties made up of groups of widely divergent and contending principles and desires is only possible when national affairs are in a critical state—as they were before the National Union Ministry was formed—or when there is an appeal to a traditional party label or rallying cry, a feature which is almost entirely lacking in France. Once the aim which unites these groups is attained, there is the possibility, already pointed out in this magazine (see *CURRENT HISTORY* for May), of a rearrangement of the pattern of groups and blocs to give the Government an entirely different cast and direction. This happened to the Left Cartel in the previous Parliament. It still remains as a strong possibility for the present one.

The new Poincaré Ministry, which took office on Nov. 11, is as follows:

RAYMOND POINCARÉ—President of the Council, without portfolio.

LOUIS BARTHOU—Vice President and Minister of Justice.

ARISTIDE BRIAND—Foreign Affairs.

ANDRÉ TARDIEU—Interior.

HENRI CHERON—Finance.

PAUL PAINLEVÉ—War.

PIERRE MARAUD—Public Instruction.

GEORGES LEYGUES—Marine.

PIERRE FORGEOT—Public Works.

GEORGES BONNEFONS—Commerce.

JEAN HENNESSY—Agriculture.

LOUIS LOUCHEUR—Labor.

ANDRÉ MAGINOT—Colonies.

LOUIS ANTERIOU—Pensions.

LAURENT EYNAC—Air.

Four under-secretaries were announced as follows: Alfred Oberkirch, Labor; Henri Paté, Physical Education; François Poncet, Technical Education, and Germain Martin, Posts and Telegraphs.

Of the members of the National Union Ministry, four outstanding representatives of the Left no longer appear: Edouard Herriot (Public Instruction), Henri Queuille (Agriculture), Léon Perrier (Colonies) and Albert Sarraut (Interior). One representative of the Right has been dropped—Louis Marin (Pensions). Some Ministers have been transferred, including Poincaré himself, who abandons the Finance portfolio in order to devote himself to the general interests of the Government; Chéron, recently appointed to succeed the late Maurice Bokanowski as Minister of Commerce, who



A sketch of Premier Poincaré made by a special artist for *Le Matin* of Paris

now takes over Finance, and Tardieu, transferred from Public Works to the Interior. Those who retain their posts are: Briand (Foreign Affairs), Barthou (Justice), Painlevé (War), Leygues (Marine), Loucheur (Labor) and Eynac (Air). The latter, like Chéron, joined the Cabinet only recently, after the death of Bokanowski. One of the under-secretaries, Oberkirch, is reappointed; the others are new men. Of the new members, three are Republican Socialists (Briand's party), namely: Forgeot, Hennessy and Antériou; two are Right Republicans, Bonnefons (Republican Democratic Union) and Maginot (Democratic Union); and one a Left Democrat, Maraud.

In general, the new Ministry is probably not so strong as the old either in personnel or in parliamentary support. Leaders like Herriot, Sarraut and Marin have been replaced by men who apparently lack their experience and who have yet to demonstrate equal capacity. The Cabinet has no Radical

representatives at all, which in terms of parliamentary support means the loss of about 125 votes. Of the total of 612 votes in the Chamber of Deputies, the new Cabinet can count on about 320, with some 250 regularly in opposition and the rest doubtful, compared with a majority of 427 votes for the fallen Ministry. The relative weakness of the new Cabinet, however, may paradoxically prove to be its greatest strength; it has greater possibilities of homogeneity than its predecessors because it does not represent so wide a range of party affiliation, and its closer margin of control may compel unity of effort and action for the common safety.

Why did the fourth Poincaré Ministry, with its record of constructive and patriotic service in spite of its inherently inharmonious composition, fall from power upon the opening day of the first session after its great triumph of stabilization? Ostensibly it fell because of attacks on two provisions of its proposed budget; fundamentally it fell because of party politics of a not-too-pretty nature, because of jealousies, of old grudges, of the attempts of second-rate men to harass and mortify their superiors. In short, the campaign against the Ministry had some of the characteristics of petty party politics everywhere.

The two features of the budget which underwent violent attack at the hands of the opponents of the Ministry were, first, Articles 70 and 71 of the finance bill, dealing with religious orders; and, second, the military and defense provisions of the bill. Under Article 70, certain properties formerly belonging to the religious orders were to be disposed of, the proceeds to be used for the proper training of missionaries; under Article 71, the missionary orders were to be allowed to re-establish their headquarters in France. The object of these provisions was to foster the work of these missionary organizations in North Africa, the Levant, China, and elsewhere, and the provisions were inserted, it was shown, at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was interested in the work of the missionary orders as a matter of colonial policy and international prestige. The two articles, according to M. Poincaré, originated with the Briand Government which preceded his Cabinet, that is, as far back

as 1926, and had the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior. Opposition to the measures proposed was directed, according to *L'Intransigeant*, by Joseph Caillaux, Poincaré's old enemy, who, with Louis Malvy, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Chamber and another old enemy, had been exiled by Clemenceau during the war.

With this opposition to the religious provisions of the bill came protests from Socialists against what they termed excessive amounts appropriated for military, naval and air services. These expenditures would include about 1,000,000,000 francs to be devoted to aviation under the new Ministry of Air, and would total for the three services about 6,800,000,000 francs. As the budget appropriations exceeded regular receipts by some 2,800,000,000 francs, the opponents of the Ministry attacked the appropriations as excessive, pointing out that the difference would be made up only in part by reparations receipts, and that the balance would have to be raised by taxation. Radicals and Socialists also attacked the provisions for fortifications along the Eastern frontier and for one-year military service.

In the midst of these discussions in the Finance Committee and in the press, there occurred one of those unforeseen events which sometimes bring to a focus discussions that would otherwise receive only passing comment. This was the dedication on Oct. 28 of a statue of Emile Combes, Premier of France from 1902 to 1905, at his birthplace, the little town of Pons, near La Rochelle, where Combes died in 1921. A Radical leader, Combes was partly responsible for the disestablishment of monasteries and institutions and the definite separation of Church and State in France. Edouard Herriot, chief of the Radical Party and Minister of Education, was delegated by the Government to speak at the dedication. He had just finished his speech when a young man belonging to the group known as *Les Camelots du Roi*, a society made up of Royalists with strong clerical leanings, stepped up and smashed the nose of the bust with a hammer. In the resulting disorder, a young clerk was shot and killed by an excited policeman. In spite of the fact that the Royalist organ, *L'Action*



*Française*, the mouthpiece of the Royalist agitators, was placed on the Index in January, 1927, by the Pope, the incident aroused great feeling among Catholic Nationalists on the one side and Radicals on the other, and poured oil on the flames of antagonism started by the budget provisions in favor of the religious orders.

Herriot was placed in an embarrassing position, torn between loyalty to the Cabinet, which through the Premier had sponsored the bill, and to the Radical Party, with its traditional anti-clerical position. A Cabinet crisis seemed to have been averted when after heated debate a compromise was reached at a Cabinet meeting on Oct. 31, whereby five specified orders doing work in Africa and the Orient were to have certain provisional rights to enable them to carry on their work, these rights to be revocable unless the Chamber itself should see fit to confirm them by a special law. Articles 70 and 71 were accordingly redrawn to bring them into agreement with the Church and State laws of 1901, 1904 and 1905. The Left regarded the compromise as a victory for its principles, in that the right was given to the Chamber alone to permit the re-entry of religious orders, re-entry having previously been permitted by governmental decree.

On Nov. 2 the annual convention of the Radical Party opened at Angers, with Herriot, supported by his Radical colleagues, Sarraut, Queuille and Perrier, advocating the compromise reached by the Cabinet, while Edouard Daladier, leader of the party; Joseph Caillaux, former Minister of Finance and erstwhile exile, and Louis Malvy led the opposition to the Government. One of the younger leaders, M. Montigny, secured the adoption of a resolution which, among other things, made opposition to the religious and military articles of the budget a matter of party policy. A motion demanding resignation of the four Radical members of the Ministry failed. This was on Nov. 4. On Nov. 5 Premier Poincaré issued an ultimatum threatening to resign rather than reduce the budget. At noon on Nov. 5 the four Radical Ministers left Angers for Paris, satisfied that they had prevented adoption of any policy which would prevent their participation in the Ministry.

That night, however, in a special session called in violation of the usual procedure, and attended, it is reported, by only 400 of the 1,200 delegates, the convention adopted a resolution attached to the end of the party platform, as follows: "This Congress is unanimously of the opinion that execution of the party platform can not be assured by the National Union Government. Only a union of the Left parties is capable of the task." This was at once a vote of lack of confidence in the Poincaré Ministry and a suggestion for the revival of the old Left Cartel. On the morning of Nov. 6 the four Radical Ministers presented their resignations to the Premier. At the council meetings which followed, he, in turn, presented to President Doumergue the resignations of the entire Cabinet, in accordance with his declared policy that the resignation of any member of the National Union Ministry would be followed by that of the whole Cabinet. When the Chamber and Senate met that afternoon, it was to listen to orations by the respective Presidents, Bouisson and Doumer, in tribute to deceased members. Prompt adjournment was then taken until such time as a new Cabinet might be formed.

In accordance with French parliamentary practice, President Doumergue spent the next few days in consultation with leaders of all the groups. Most of those interviewed apparently favored the retention of M. Poincaré. Others mentioned were Briand and Theodore Steeg, High Commissioner in Africa. Agitation for restoration of the Left Cartel continued. Poincaré himself expressed his unwillingness to undertake the formation of another Ministry. In the meantime Louis Marin, ardent Nationalist, had issued a denunciation of the Radicals—a fact which may explain his exclusion from the new Cabinet—thereby increasing the difficulties of the situation. The attempt of the extreme Radicals to form a coalition with the Socialists failed because of the opposition of the group known as the Radical Left. On Nov. 9 the President invited Poincaré to form a new Cabinet, and Poincaré accepted. His efforts on Nov. 9 and 10 to rebuild a Ministry on the model of the National Union Ministry failed because of the unwillingness of the Radicals to cooperate with repre-

sentatives of the Republican Union group. On Nov. 11 he announced the new Cabinet, in which, as stated, the Radicals have no representation.

In a statement to newspapermen following the formation of the Ministry, Poincaré intimated that his release from the duties of Finance Minister would permit him to give most of his attention to negotiations with Germany for a settlement of reparations, in which progress has been made.

Armistice Day was fittingly celebrated throughout France. Notable ceremonies were those at the Arc de Triomphe, and at the clearing in Compiègne Forest where the armistice was signed. Notable events of the day were a statement of Marshal Foch that pacts and pledges could not make war impossible unless the nations concerned had a will to peace; and a visit to Georges Clemenceau by a little American boy, who presented a bouquet "in the name of millions of my compatriots."

The tenth anniversary of the armistice finds France in a gratifying state of rehabilitation, though much, of course, remains to be done. Homes and farm buildings are largely replaced. Flooded coal mines have been restored to production and are surpassing pre-war records. Factories have been rebuilt. France has made the largest increase in foreign trade over 1913 of any European country. The franc has been stabilized. Everything seems to point to a continuation of industrial and financial stability unless political confusion caused by the multiplicity of parties leads to a parliamentary period like that of 1926.

The two autonomist Deputies from Alsace, Dr. Ricklin and M. Rossé, whose pardon by President Doumergue relieved them from five-year prison sentences imposed at the Colmar trials, have been unseated by a vote of 220 Deputies to 39.

A Communist demonstration on Oct. 25 during the funeral of nineteen victims of a building collapse at Vincennes led to the arrest of about 1,300 Communists, among whom were about 450 foreigners.

Judge Gaston Grenet of the Seine Tribunal has been absolved of any responsibility in connection with irregular divorces granted to Americans by that court, which have been the subject of inquiry by the Ministry of Justice.

On Oct. 30 a new railway line between Nice (France) and Coni (Italy) was inaugurated. The new line cuts off about sixty-five miles from the Riviera to Turin. It was begun since the World War.

On Nov. 5 it was reported that negotiations were under way between France and Italy for a treaty to dispose of pending questions, notably in the Mediterranean and in Northern Africa.

**BELGIUM**—It was announced on Nov. 4 that the attempts to adjust the dispute between Whitney Warren, architect of the new Louvain Library, and the university authorities had failed, and that the suit of Mr. Warren against the university authorities would soon be instituted. The French sculptor, Pierre de Soëte, Mr. Warren's intermediary, announced that all the principal donors in America had taken issue with Herbert Hoover's cablegram instructing Monsignor Ladeuze, rector of the university, that he was authorized to decide the question. A majority of the donors, he said, have declared that they desire the original inscription to be placed on the building.

Mr. Hoover's election was commented on in a statement by the Foreign Minister, M. Paul Hymans, issued on Nov. 7, in which he referred to the work done under Mr. Hoover's direction, not only for the starving population of Belgium but for the Belgian universities. He pointed out that the distinction of "Friend of Belgium" had been conferred on the President-elect of the United States by royal decree on July 31, 1918.

Armistice day was celebrated throughout Belgium with great solemnity. Americans, French and British took part in the ceremonies.

Experts have been appointed to conduct "conversations" on behalf of the Governments of Belgium and Holland with a view to a revision of the treaties of 1839 dealing with navigation of the River Scheldt. An earlier proposed revision was rejected by the Dutch Parliament.

Belgium is reported to have increased its exports about 10 per cent. during the last two years. Its foreign trade now amounts to about 73 per cent. of its pre-war trade, as against 65 per cent. in 1925.

## German Nationalists Elect Extremist Leader

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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THE crisis within the Nationalist Party of Germany which had long been brewing was solved somewhat drastically, and perhaps temporarily, by the election of Herr Hugenberg, the industrialist and newspaper proprietor, as national leader in place of Count Westarp. The struggle between the extreme reactionaries and the "opportunist" moderates has been going on for years and raged with particular fury at the time of the London Agreement, the Locarno Conference and the entry of the Nationalists into the late Government. On the whole, the moderates won, although the extremists gained a point in forcing the resignation of the Nationalist Ministers from the Luther Cabinet after Locarno. The extremists attributed the election defeat of last May to the weakness of the moderates in having any dealings at all with the Coalition and Herr Stresemann's foreign policy, although the chief trouble was that absurd inconsistencies were forced upon them by extremist agitation and they had no chance to show what they could do in the way of constructive work.

Before the election there was a moderate wing composed of such "Young Conservatives" as Herr von Lindeiner-Wildau, and an extremist wing, with Herr Hugenberg vaguely in the background. Count Westarp and a central group had had the unenviable task of trying to keep the balance. A few months ago a still more moderate movement made itself heard through Herr Lambach, trade union Secretary, who infuriated the reactionaries by suggesting that the monarchist was not essential to the party, which ought to have room for "Conservative Republicans." Herr Hugenberg, with his powerful press, then emerged definitely as the leader of the reactionaries and declared war on the Lambach group. Herr Lambach was expelled by his local branch, but the central party tribunal, owing to the exertions of Count Westarp and the moderates, reversed the decision, though it "reprimanded" Herr Lambach. Herr Hugenberg

announced that the struggle was not over and he finally won an important victory. Apparently opposition to his election was withdrawn in the desperate hope of averting a split, as he had threatened to secede with the strong group under his control. The moderates seem to have taken the view that, as there is no question of entering a coalition again for some time, Herr Hugenberg might as well be allowed to do his worst and that the responsibilities of party leadership might have the effect of toning down his aggressive program. But what the Lambach group may do is another matter.

Hugenberg controls the largest newspaper combine in Germany. In addition to publishing two Berlin dailies, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and *Der Tag*, and a vast number of weekly and monthly journals, he supplies innumerable provincial papers directly with news and articles. He has further acquired control of the largest unofficial news agency in Germany, with an extensive service at home and abroad. His control of the great Universum Film Company (Ufa) gives him unchallenged supremacy in the production and distribution of German films. During the last few months his influence in the militant Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet) organization has grown to such an extent as to place it at his beck and call. The Dawes Plan, Locarno, the League and Dr. Stresemann's foreign policy have long been the objects of ceaseless attacks by the press which he controls. He was accused of having been the moving spirit in the alleged dictatorship plot of 1926, and *Vorwärts*, the Socialist organ, commenting on his latest success, declares that he has "stood behind all the big treasonable undertakings of recent years." Hugenberg's activities undoubtedly give some justification for regarding him as the apostle of a German Fascism to be founded on the reactionary ex-soldiers' organizations.

Count Westarp is still retained in leadership of the Nationalist Reichstag faction, though he no longer wields his former power in politics. The liberal parties especially re-



gret this move in reactionary circles at the present time, because it is hoped that within a few months a reparations plan replacing the Dawes Plan will be ready for submission to the Reichstag. Adoption, as in the case of the Dawes Plan, will require a two-thirds vote, which will be difficult without Herr Hugenberg's support. What attitude other Powers may take toward this slide toward monarchism on the part of the Nationalists is also worrying Republicans who desire to improve Germany's position internationally and object to any action which tends to hamper the attainment of that end.

Balancing the Nationalist action was the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the November revolution which led to the establishment of the Republic. In a special article written for the occasion, Dr. Stresemann, Foreign Minister, traced the progress made during the last decade. "Germany, seen from the outside, has regained her position among the World Powers," he declared. "It is not correct that Germany is standing politically isolated among the other nations. Our relations with the United States of America, certainly the greatest and most powerful nation in the world, were never better during imperial days than they are today. We are not in full possession of our sovereignty, but we never will be able to regain the full independence taken from us by the Versailles Treaty. However, there is no question but that our relations to the outside world have now an entirely different basic character than they had immediately after our defeat. Our industry and commerce has had a hard fight under the greatest difficulties in its struggle for the world market, and where in those battles justice or injustice lies cannot be decided on the basis of political passions but on the basis of active investigations with regard to the limits of the productivity of Germany."

Speaking of Germany's present economic status and of her relations to America, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, German Ambassador to the United States, who recently returned from Berlin, declared that Germany is distinctly on the upgrade. "The general economic situation," said he, "is favorably influenced by this year's harvest, which is quantitatively and qualitatively better than last year's. On the other hand, the conditions of business have



#### THE MILITARY ENTENTE

"Of course we will disarm, Mr. Müller. Can't you see that I am cutting my finger nails already."

—Lustige Blaetter, Berlin

been somewhat less favorable within the last weeks. The number of unemployed is increasing; against 647,000 unemployed at the beginning of the month of August, the number of unemployed reached 660,000 in the month of September. The trade between Germany and the United States in the first six months of 1928 has considerably increased."

For the first time the German Government's method of settling industrial disputes by arbitration has failed to function, the Ruhr industrialists having locked out 225,000 metal workers recently despite the award of the special arbitration court, which was pronounced binding by Herr Wessel, Minister of Labor. The employers refused to abide by the award, which would have given the men an average wage increase of 1½ cents an hour, but the men agreed to accept the decision and signified their willingness to return to work at the new scale of wages.

**A**USTRIA—That the *Anschluss* (union with Germany) movement is apparently gaining ground in Austria is evident from the impressive list of Austrians who signed

the Pan-German manifesto issued in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Austrian Republic. The document appeared as a supplement to the party organ *Anschluss* and contained four complete pages of facsimile signatures of hundreds of the most prominent men and women throughout the country. A special list contained the names of the Mayors of every city and village in Burgenland, a district acquired after the war from Hungary, where inhabitants consider the situation in respect to Hungary as unsafe and fear that only by becoming part of a powerful Germany can they be saved from invasion.

Efforts during the month to disband what are practically private armies maintained by various political factions in Austria appear to have been wrecked by the failure of the different factions to come to any agreement. The Social-Democrats, who control the City of Vienna, proposed that as a first step military parades of all private forces, including their own, be forbidden. Chancellor Seipel, however, declined this suggestion and proposed that a conference be held seeking a settlement not only of the private armies in question but also of all the differences between the bourgeois parties and the opposition. The Socialist press declared that the Chancellor did not dare to antagonize the Fascists or their industrial supporters, who are fighting socialism.

From all accounts it would appear that the Austrian Socialists are being forced into a defensive position. Numerically the Socialists remain decisively important in Austrian politics. At the last election they obtained 43 per cent. of all the votes and seventy-one seats in Parliament against ninety-four for the anti-Socialist coalition. As one result the hotly disputed laws for the establishment of a workers' council, and also for soldiers' councils, remain, for a two-thirds majority is required to change them. In Vienna the Socialists, with a 70 per cent.

majority, have been able to install complete and, in many ways, useful reforms, especially as concerns housing for workmen, social welfare and taxation. In addition they have demonstrated their strength through private as well as parliamentary organizations. Socialist influence has been strongly felt in the army, the police, State employes and on the railways. The armed Socialist organization, the *Schutzbund*, has been considered a constant menace to all opposition.

The July riots of last year, however, tended to weaken the Socialist Party. More recently the Government has seized several secret depots of the *Schutzbund*, while the events recently at Wiener Neustadt, where the *Schutzbund* made an imposing parade, but where the silent and grim march of the *Heimwehr* was equally memorable, proved that Socialist hegemony in the matter of street demonstrations has passed.

The decline of Socialist influence in the army was revealed when election of members of the Soldiers' Councils resulted in a Socialist loss of fifty-six places, with a vote of 6,300 against more than 10,000 ballots from anti-Socialist soldiers. It is probable that a change in the house rent law, whose maintenance has been one of the best arguments in the Socialist platform, will also cause a further decrease in the Socialist vote. Influence also has been lost by the Socialists among workers during the past few weeks when several strikes ended in complete defeat.

**HOLLAND**—On Oct. 29 Mr. J. H. van Royen, Netherlands Minister to the United States, deposited in the American State Department the ratification by the Dutch Government of the International Radio Telegraph Convention and the general and supplementary regulations relating thereto which were signed in Washington on Nov. 25, 1927. The ratification includes the Dutch East Indies, Surinam and Curacao.



## Fascisti Celebrate Sixth Anniversary of March on Rome

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE past month in Italy was marked by several notable anniversary celebrations. On Oct. 28 there was celebrated throughout the country the sixth anniversary of the march on Rome and the advent to power of the Fascisti. The ceremonies, in accordance with Mussolini's orders, were not such as to involve large expense. They consisted chiefly in the inauguration of public works—nearly 3,000—and in the reading of a message from Mussolini outlining these undertakings and calling for general support:

The sixth year of the Fascist revolution has come to an active end with imposing works destined to remain in this age as a demonstration of our fidelity, our strength and our work. Two thousand eight hundred and two public works have been inaugurated in order to celebrate by deeds and in silence the great enterprise which in October, 1922, liberated the Italian people and created a new régime in Italy and in the world. These works are 566 roadways, 337 school buildings, 399 waterworks, 65 improvements, 63 naval constructions, 79 sanitary works, 371 public buildings, 860 other undertakings and a number of other works of less importance. This simple list of figures stands clear-cut apart from all outcry either at home or beyond the frontiers. Behind these figures are the hands, the money, the life and the well-being of the Fascist people.

Three events ought to be recalled in this hour of happiness: the monetary reform, the law on the Grand Council, and the law for land reclamation and utilization. These three facts are fundamental in the history of the régime and have made the sixth year particularly significant.

The public works inaugurated include a motor road between Rome and its most popular bathing resort, Ostia; the port works of Civita Vecchia, henceforth to be known as the Port of Rome; the new buildings of the Ministries of Marine and Education in Rome, and the court house or "Palace of Justice" at Messina. Two new air lines were also opened. The reclamation project involves a minimum expenditure of \$400,000,000, half of which is to be paid outright by the Government and the balance lent to the proprietors of the land for thirty years. The expense of the im-

mediate road improvements, involving over \$100,000,000, is to be met by increases in prices by the salt and tobacco monopolies and in the tax on bachelors, and in alcohol, excise and wheat duties.

Another feature of the anniversary exercises was the spectacular ceremony held the evening before on the steps of the Victor Emmanuel Monument, when Mussolini, in front of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, publicly burned public debt certificates amounting to about \$7,000,000. These were the offerings of public-spirited citizens to reduce the indebtedness of the State and thus to help to restore Italy's financial prosperity.

A few days after the anniversary of the march on Rome, on Nov. 4, all Italy celebrated the tenth anniversary of her armistice day and her victory over Austria in the battle of Vittorio Veneto. Huge crowds cheered the King at the Quirinal and did honor to the memory of Marshal Diaz, Italy's "Duke of Victory." Speaking from the balcony of the former Austrian Embassy in Rome, Mussolini paid tribute to Victor Emmanuel II, under whom the unification of Italy had been achieved, and to those who had fought for Italy in the World War. There were four things, he declared, of which the world needed to be reminded—namely, that Italy had not been forced into the war, but had entered it deliberately at the call of conscience; that the war on the Italian frontier was particularly difficult; that the victory was wholly Italian and that the war had been marked by episodes of incomparable valor. Then turning to the future he asked, "If it is necessary, will you do tomorrow what you have done, what we did together yesterday?" The answer was a thundering "Yes!" from the assembled multitude.

Among the reforms inaugurated since the conclusion of peace, Italians point to the changes in the school system now under way. In a recent order Mussolini directed



the Minister of Public Instruction to proceed to carry out further plans already started. These reforms include a greater administrative centralization; the adaptation of the schools to the needs of the locality; the preparation of a textbook for the elementary school which shall stress Italian achievements in past history and present endeavor; the diffusion of Italian culture in foreign countries; the restoration of the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion in the schools; the coordination and strengthening of professional instruction, and, above all, the complete Fascistization of the entire school system.

To protect the Fascist régime against direct violence a law re-establishing the death penalty was introduced in November, 1926, after the attempt to assassinate Mussolini. According to its terms attempts on the life of the King, the Crown Prince, or the Premier, as well as all cases of high treason, espionage and armed insurrection may be punished with death. Thus, after a lapse of some seventy years, capital punishment was restored in Italy. The first death decree under this law was pronounced by the special military tribunal for defense of the State on Oct. 17 against Michiele della Maggiora, who was convicted of murdering two Fascisti on May 16. His request for royal clemency was refused and the execution was carried out by a firing squad two days later.

The Fascist Party now has the support, it is claimed, of 6,814,703 members, including 88,006 women, 325,127 Avanguardisti, or youths' organization, and 780,937 Balilla, or boys' organization. Such figures, according to certain Socialist sources, are misleading. Labor unrest is widespread in Italy, they declare, and Fascism is moving to a crisis. According to Mussolini, on the other hand, Fascism is stronger than ever and such increasing numbers offer convincing evidence that Fascism is not a one-man Government, but a Government of all the people—in short, a real democracy.

One of the main endeavors of the Fascist régime on the economic side has been to stimulate the production of wheat. In spite of the fact that about one-half of Italy's population is engaged in agriculture or in pursuits directly connected with it, the yield of wheat is not sufficient to feed all

the people. To increase the amount Mussolini inaugurated the so-called "Battle of Wheat." Its object was not so much to increase the area sown with wheat as to increase the yield per unit in order to make up the deficit between yearly consumption and production and so to lessen the need of importation. To this end national wheat raising competitions were inaugurated. In distributing the prizes at one of these competitions—at which incidentally Mussolini's own estate at Carpenta won third prize—he declared that the epoch of a predominantly urban policy was past:

All cities have had sums amounting to billions of lire for useful things and also for useless embellishments. It is now high time to dedicate billions to agriculture if we wish to avoid the phenomena of economic crisis and demographic decadence which have beset other peoples. To increase to the utmost the fecundity of the Italian soil, to elevate the standard of living of the millions upon millions of agriculturists who toil with patient and sacred tenacity—these are the fundamental tasks of the Fascist régime.

In thanking those who had contributed to the success of the battle, Mussolini especially mentioned the parish priests. He was obliged to admit, however, that the efforts of the past year had been in part neutral-



MUSSOLINI AND DE RIVERA

"Two men, two systems, but one purpose, the prosperity of the nation."

—Il "420," Florence



Times Wide World

Primo de Rivera, seated between the King and Queen of Spain, watching a bull fight at Seville

ized by the drought, which had prevented the yield from reaching the expected figure.

A new difficulty in connection with the Tyrol situation has arisen over the question of the appointment of a Bishop for Bressanone (Brixen). This district, the German-speaking centre of the Upper Adige (South Tyrol), is mainly in Italy, but one of its smaller districts is still in Austrian territory. The Italian Government desires that an Italian prelate be raised to that dignity, while the inhabitants, who are of German race, would prefer a German-speaking ecclesiastic, also because he would have under his jurisdiction that section of the diocese which is still in Austria. The Vatican has solved the difficulty for the time being by appointing Monsignor Mutschlechner to be Apostolic Administrator of Bressanone.

Mount Etna has recently been in active eruption, resulting in great damage to neighboring towns and the cutting off of light and water from a large area. It is reported that 50,000 are already homeless. Premier Mussolini has issued an order forbidding public subscription for the victims

of the eruption. This is a Government matter and a special law provides for aid in such cases.

**SPAIN**—A part of the recent celebration of the fifth anniversary of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was an address to the Patriotic Union outlining his policy (see *CURRENT HISTORY*, November, 1928, p. 338). He subsequently found it desirable, in view of much criticism and opposition, to issue an additional statement somewhat modifying his program. It was headed "Epilogue of the Commemoration of Sept. 13." In it he outlined the work laid out for the next five years. For the present, he announced, the lists of adherents to the Patriotic Union, the only legal political party in Spain, like the Fascist Party in Italy, which were to have closed on Sept. 13, were to remain open until Jan. 1, so that "neophytes may be welcomed with affection and confidence, irrespective of their political origins."

The Premier then reiterated the doctrine of the control of the Government by the citizen through the Patriotic Union, as already proclaimed on Sept. 13, but this con-

trol is now broadened as follows: In municipalities and provincial corporations, although the Alcalde, or Mayor, his deputy and four-fifths of the corporation must belong to the union, the civil governors are ordered to choose the remaining one-fifth among independent persons, regardless of their politics, provided they are honest and capable.

A sweeping reorganization of the Spanish Ministry was announced on Nov. 3. The Foreign Ministry is to be suppressed and its functions added to the duties of the Prime Minister, who will appoint a director of foreign affairs to be under his immediate orders. Several other changes in the Ministries are announced. General Ardanaz, who has been President of the Supreme War and Marine Council, will be retired and a Ministry of War will be created with General Burquete as its chief. Vice Admiral Garcia Reyes replaces Admiral Cornejo as Minister of Marine. In addition, a new Ministry of National Economy is created, with Count de los Andes in charge of a

program to reduce Governmental expenses. He will also direct the Customs Service. The Labor Minister will henceforth be called the Minister of Labor, Corporations and Assurance.

Acting under the new railway statute, the Spanish Minister of Public Works has unified all the railways west of Madrid, on which the lines were considered to be inadequately operated or the rolling stock antiquated. The concession is for sixty years and the amalgamated corporation will be called the West of Spain Railway Company.

**PORTUGAL**—The Cabinet resigned on Nov. 7. President Carmona, while accepting the resignation, reiterated his confidence in Premier Vincente Freitas and charged him with forming a new Government. Dr. Salazar was asked to continue as Minister of Finance. The Freitas Cabinet was formed last April following the election to the Presidency of General Oscar Carmona.

#### *EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS*

## Czechoslovakia's Tenth Anniversary

By FREDERIC A. OGG

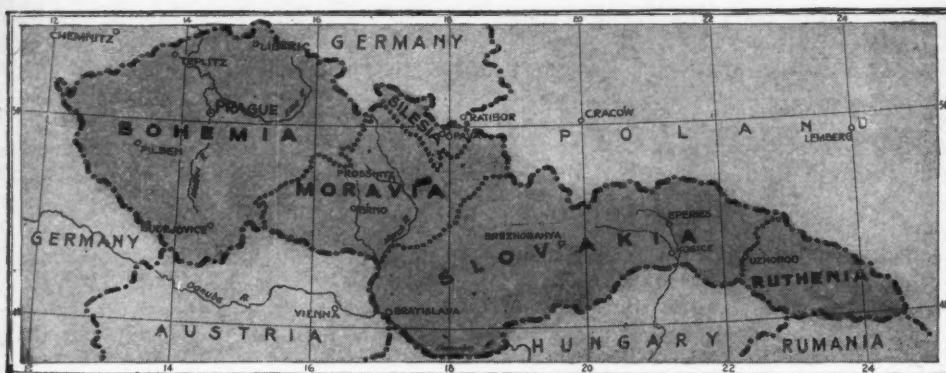
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THE late months of 1918 and the early months of 1919 witnessed a rapid succession of momentous events in Western and Central Europe, and the peoples of those parts of the world are now passing in equally swift succession from one decennial celebration to another. The most notable of these commemorative occasions to date was the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. It was on Oct. 18, 1918, that Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, then sojourning in Washington as an exile, decided that the time had come to proclaim an independent State of Czechoslovakia; and it was just ten days later that Austria collapsed and the Czechoslovak Republic was formally proclaimed. Though the week beginning Oct. 28 last was crowded with celebrations throughout the coun-

try it was characteristic of the republic's high-minded and frugal inhabitants that the occasion was not one merely for fireworks, parades, and oratory. As carefully planned features of the commemoration, a new library was opened at Prague; the imposing Masaryk Infirmary for the sick and aged was dedicated; two great bridges over the Moldau River were opened; the Supreme Synod of Jewish Communities announced its decision to translate the Jewish Bible into the Czech language; banking and insurance companies contributed more than 1,000,000 crowns for educational, health and cultural purposes; one bank opened an account for each child born during the month.

The American connection, and especially that of President Wilson, with the republic's birth received signal recognition. The great marble monument to the author





MAP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

of the Fourteen Points, facing the main railway station in Prague, and dedicated only a few months ago, was decorated with wreaths by the Government, and everywhere the national flag was entwined with the Stars and Stripes. The United States, declared President Masaryk, "is, in a sense, the foster-parent of Czechoslovakia. The monument is only one of the innumerable symbols of Czechoslovakia's love for America and of the gratitude of our people to Woodrow Wilson for helping to liberate them from the bondage of centuries of oppressive Austro-Hungarian rule."

Political conditions in the republic still leave something to be desired. The number of parties is excessively large, the present Cabinet containing representatives of no fewer than eight such groups. There is some gain, however, in the fact that the most important of the lingual minorities—the Germans—has given up its obstructionist tactics and for some time has borne a share in the Government; and the lack of cooperation that has sometimes been a serious impediment is being overcome through the device of a special committee of eight representatives of the Government parties, which in fact shapes the Government's policies. On the economic side, there are large advances to record; foreign relations are in a satisfactory state; and altogether the republic faces its second decade firm in the conviction that its most difficult days are past.

**G**REECE—After signing the treaty of friendship and conciliation with Italy described last month, Premier Venizelos

visited Paris and London and then returned home via Belgrade. While in the French capital, he had two important conversations with M. Marinkovich, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, and later in the Yugoslav capital he is understood not only to have sought to reassure King Alexander as to the nature of the Italian treaty, but to have further laid the foundations for a treaty of friendship between Yugoslavia and Greece. A treaty of commerce was indeed signed at the beginning of November.

Steps looking toward a general treaty of friendship have been under way for a long time. Four years ago the Belgrade Government, after denouncing the Greco-Serb alliance of war days, demanded, as the price of the renewal of the treaty, concessions which appeared incompatible with the exercise of full Greek sovereignty over the port of Salonika and the railway that links it with Yugoslav territory. Despite its temporary isolation and the shock of the still recent Asiatic disaster, the Greek Government refused to pay the price. Somewhat later, General Pangalos negotiated an agreement with Yugoslavia which the Greek Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify for the same reason that had inspired the General's predecessors to decline the onerous conditions proposed by Belgrade. During the last two years the impediments to Yugoslav transit trade, which served to excuse, though they did not justify, the attitude of the Yugoslav Foreign Office, have disappeared in consequence of the general improvement in the finances and the organization of Greece. Given good-will at Belgrade, there is every

reason to expect that M. Venizelos, who has already enhanced his great prestige since his return to power, will succeed in establishing the broad lines of agreement which are the necessary prelude to a treaty of friendship and conciliation with Yugoslavia.

**HUNGARY**—In view of the autocratic sway which Count Bethlen, Prime Minister of Hungary, wields in his country, an announcement which he made in a speech at Oedenburg on Oct. 14 attracted world-wide attention. The statement was to the effect, first, that a referendum will

soon be held to select a King for the present kingless monarchy, and second, that the legitimist claimant to the throne, Otto, son of Emperor Charles and Empress Zita, is ineligible. The throne, it will be recalled, has been vacant since 1918; in 1920 the country was declared a monarchy under the regency of Admiral Nicholas Horthy; and two attempts of Charles to regain his lost crown, before his death a few years ago, were failures.

In all, there have been as many as half a dozen pretenders to the throne. All have now dropped out except two or three, unless, indeed, as is asserted in some quarters,



MAP OF THE BALKANS

Admiral Horthy is secretly conspiring, with the connivance of Count Bethlen, to make himself King. One of the two principal avowed aspirants is Archduke Otto, who is now in school in Luxemburg; the other is his second cousin, the Archduke Albrecht, 31 years of age, and son of Archduke Frederick, Duke of Teschen, and the Archduchess Isabella. For years a bitter contest has been waged between the cousins Zita and Isabella, each in behalf of the accession of her offspring; and the latter appears to be winning, not only because she is rich and influential while her cousin is miserably poor, but also because she enjoys Premier Bethlen's favor, while Zita does not.

There is, of course, no assurance that anything is really going to happen. Quite possibly, the Premier's dramatic announcement was prompted only by a desire to forestall the *coup d'état* which might be undertaken when, on Nov. 20, the legitimist heir should attain his majority (sixteen, under Habsburg law). The treaty of Trianon excludes the Habsburgs from the throne; the Little Entente would vigorously oppose any move to restore them; Mussolini, too, is on record as hostile to any effort of the kind. These obstacles would stand in the way of Albrecht no less than in that of Otto; and while the Premier calls repeatedly for a revision of the Trianon treaty, he has not been known to urge a change such as would open the way for a Habsburg restoration. Considering that as recently as May, 1927, M. Bethlen declared that a King was not possible for several years, his recent pronouncement has stirred keen interest.

**YUGOSLAVIA**—Early in November, publicity was given to a remarkable, and indeed unprecedented letter which was sent to the League of Nations from Zagreb on Sept. 12 by the widow of the Croat leader, Stephen Raditch, who died on Aug. 8 as a result of wounds received in the Skupstina on June 20, when several Croat deputies were shot down by a Serbian Nationalist. Charging that the President of the Chamber was guilty of complicity, and arguing that under existing conditions at Belgrade the investigation which the Government has ordered cannot be expected to be thorough or fair, Mme. Raditch asks

the League to intervene so that justice may be done. No reply has as yet been forthcoming, but it is hardly conceivable that the League authorities will see their way clear to interfere in a matter, which, though undoubtedly of high international interest, is in its nature purely domestic.

With the King's signature, on Oct. 10, of the act ratifying the Nettuno Conventions between Yugoslavia and Italy, a long-standing source of friction in Balkan politics has been removed.

**RUMANIA**—The long-drawn-out contest between the Liberal Party of Premier Bratianu and the National Peasant Party, led by the able Transylvanian politician, M. Julius Maniu, took a new turn at the beginning of November when the Regency Council requested M. Bratianu and his colleagues to resign before Dec. 1, the tenth anniversary of the union of Transylvania with Rumania. The Regency was understood to have been actuated by the desire that the occasion be duly celebrated by all elements and parties. That would have been clearly impossible as long as the Liberals were in power and the National Peasant following continued to refuse, on that account, to have anything to do with the proposed festivals. The Regency's desire was, obviously, that a new Cabinet be formed in which the Peasant Party, commanding 75 per cent. of the Transylvanian vote, should be represented.

On the ground that his Government was in the act of concluding a large foreign loan and carrying a bill for stabilizing the currency, M. Bratianu took the position that the Regency's request was unreasonable. His objection, however, availed nothing, and on Nov. 4 he tendered his resignation. The Regency thereupon called into consultation a long list of persons of political importance—ex-Premier Averescu, M. Maniu, Professor Jorga, M. Lupu, and others. General Averescu and Professor Jorga recommended a concentration Government representing all parties, such as the Regency itself desired. The National Peasant leader at first stood firm for a Cabinet composed exclusively of members of his own party, but on Nov. 7 indicated his willingness to become head of a coalition Government, provided Parliament were dissolved forthwith



and a general election held within the limits of time fixed by law.

Preferring to avoid Maniu as Premier if it could, the Regency offered the post to Nicholas Titulescu, former Foreign Minister and present Rumanian Minister at London. Arriving hurriedly from the British capital, he tried to form a Government. The effort failed, however, and on Nov. 9 Maniu, whose list of appointees had long been in readiness, entered upon the duties of the office. On the following day Parliament was dissolved, the decree fixing Dec. 12 as the date for the elections to the lower house, Dec. 15 as that for the senatorial elections, and Dec. 22 as that for the meeting of the new Parliament.

The supplanting of Bratianu by Maniu was hailed as a signal triumph by the Peasant leader's enormous following, and naturally gave rise to special rejoicing in Transylvania, where the party is particularly strong. During the past year the new Premier has called insistently for a parliamentary dissolution, to be followed by a "fair" election, and, as has been recorded in these pages, numerous popular mass-meetings and other demonstrations have

lent force to the demand. For the time being, at all events, the long rule of the Bratianus is broken, and the world will watch with interest the coming electoral contest which, if it results as elections traditionally result in Rumania, will give the new Premier the parliamentary majority which he covets.

The scheme of international financing which has been under consideration in recent weeks calls for a total bank credit of \$250,000,000, but for an immediate loan of only \$80,000,000. The Bank of France has assumed the leadership in the arrangement and is working out the details in cooperation with other central banks. Messrs. Blair and Co., in association with other New York banking organizations, will handle the American portion of the loan, which will be offered to investors in the form of a bond issue. German banking interests are expected to play an important rôle because of the Rumanian business that may be involved. There is some uncertainty as to whether, and how, the change of Government at Bucharest will affect plans for the loan, but no announcement has as yet been made.

#### NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

## Lithuania's Suspicions of Latvia

By MILTON OFFUTT

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WITH much of her political energy devoted to prosecuting one bloodless war with Poland for more than eight years, Lithuania, the bantam of the Baltic, seemed likely to find herself involved in another anaemic conflict, this time with her Eastern neighbor. During October, according to foreign press reports, her relations with Latvia approached the thin edge of a breach of diplomatic intercourse. The quarrel arose because of a speech in which M. A. Balodis, the Latvian Foreign Minister, asked that the League of Nations use its influence to effect the reopening of the railway from Libau, in Latvia, to Vilna, occupied by Poland. The line, which crosses Lithuania, was closed in 1920 when the Lithuanian Government reached

the decision that a state of war existed between Lithuania and Poland.

Although, according to report, M. Balodis's speech was diplomatically cautious and contained an express repudiation of the idea that he intended in any way to violate the interests or sovereign rights of Poland or Lithuania, the inference of M. A. Volde-maras, Lithuanian Prime Minister, was that Latvia, by M. Balodis's words, intended to support Poland in the war over Vilna. To a correspondent of *Sevodnya* (*Today*), a Russian Democratic newspaper published in Riga, he declared that it was quite intolerable that a diplomat should act openly against the interests of the country to which he was accredited; that M. Balodis, while holding the post of Latvian Foreign

Minister, was still nominally Minister to Lithuania, that his speech was not only inconsistent with the friendly relations existing between Lithuania and Latvia but an actual breach of neutrality considering the state of affairs between Lithuania and Poland. For these reasons, he said, Lithuania must point out that M. Balodis, as an envoy, was no longer *persona grata* at Kaunas.

M. Balodis's rejoinder was equally emphatic. The statement of his Lithuanian colleague, he said, profoundly pained him. How Premier Voldemaras could state to the press that an envoy at Kaunas was no longer *persona grata* was, he submitted, from the standpoint of diplomatic intercourse, absolutely incomprehensible. Such matters, he insisted, were customarily adjusted through other channels; and he added that he must refrain from characterizing with appropriate words a method so unusual in diplomatic life.

Meanwhile, on Oct. 8, the Government of President Smetona and Premier Voldemaras announced that the following day would, as usual during the past years, be observed as a national holiday in commemoration of the seizure of Vilna by the Poles in 1920. The practice of public mourning upon that day was to be discarded and it was intimated that the Government's orators would declare their nation's intention to prepare for the restoration of Vilna to Lithuania by war. A dispatch from Kaunas added that after the commemoration program General Daukantas would go abroad for the purpose of purchasing munitions.

Premier Voldemaras and Foreign Minister Zalesky of Poland, with their delegations, gathered once more at a conference table in Koenigsberg on Nov. 3 to attempt to formulate a working agreement between their two countries which would permit the resumption of normal intercourse. The delegations were composed of the same men who had vainly attempted the solution of the problem at the last conference, except that M. Voldemaras had included his Minister of War, General Theodore Daukantas, while M. Roman Knoll, Polish Minister at Berlin, had been added to his country's group. The old discussion developed on the question of railroad transportation which, after eight years, Poland wished to resume

directly across the disputed Vilna region. The Lithuanians proposed a roundabout route by way of Latvia or East Prussia, seeing in the opening of the direct route a renunciation of their claim to Vilna. A subcommission was appointed to deal with this point. By Nov. 6 it became known that the subcommission had thus far failed to reach an agreement. A proposal by the Lithuanians that the Vilna district be put under an international administration was rejected by the Poles.

**L**ATVIA—The effect of the adoption of the French parliamentary system by the people of the Republic of Latvia was made manifest on Oct. 7, when elections for the Latvian unicameral parliament, the Saeima, took place. As candidates for the one hundred seats in the chamber, more than 2,000 persons were put forward by the State's forty-four political parties. The parties posted one hundred and twenty lists, each ticket containing from ten to twenty names, in the five election districts of the State. About 600,000 voters went to the polls, and the Government was forced to appropriate a large sum of money to print ballots containing the names of the candidates of the twenty-five parties of the Centre and Right, the five of the Left, the six Russian, five Jewish, and the German, Polish and Lithuanian parties. According to report, the Communists were not expected to take part in the election, as the precaution had been taken of jailing all the party's candidates. However, when the returns were in it was found that they had elected five Deputies under the label "Left Laborites."

A split in the ranks of labor cut the number of Regular Socialist members in the new Saeima to twenty-six, a loss of eight seats. This materially strengthened the position of the Bourgeois-Agrarian bloc, led by Premier Peter Juraszewski. Although the numbers of Deputies belonging to the parties definitely under the leadership of Juraszewski dropped from 47 to 45, the representation of the four racial minority parties rose from 16 to 18. This situation, with the splitting of the labor opposition into four groups instead of two, was expected to make it comparatively easy for the Premier to hold his position, since he

had previously demonstrated his ability to unite, when necessary, enough of the racial minority Deputies by exploiting their racial interests. The outgoing Parliament contained representatives of twenty-four political parties.

**ESTONIA**—The healthy and buoyant condition of Estonian trade, which was indicated by the figures for the first quarter of 1928, continued throughout the Summer and early Autumn, while the general upward tendency of economic activity throughout the Baltic republic was confirmed by further statistics. For the first half of the year the volume of Estonian trade, as compared with the corresponding period of 1927, showed the remarkable increase of 36 per cent.

**DENMARK**—Internationally the most significant passage of the speech which M. Madsen Mygdal, Minister of State, read to the Danish Rigsdag when it assembled on Oct. 2 was a plea that the Rigsdag discuss once more, without party bias, a plan for the revision of the system of national defense established in 1922. From M. Mygdal's speech, which outlined the Government's program for the ordinary session of the Rigsdag, it appeared certain that the Bill for the Defense of the Realm introduced in 1926 had been discarded. The content of the forthcoming bill was only vaguely indicated by M. Mygdal's declaration that the defense system should fit in with the obligations brought about by Denmark's geographical position and her membership in the League of Nations. M. Myg-

dal referred also to the general improvement in the economic condition of Denmark despite the losses sustained by one of the great banks.

The complexion of the Danish upper chamber was slightly modified by the September elections, which reduced the Conservative majority from ten to four. In the former Landsting the Agrarians and Conservatives held 31 and 12 seats, respectively, while the Socialists held 25 and the Democrats 8. The September balloting cost the Agrarians three seats and added two to those held by the Socialists, while the representative from the Faroe Islands was counted as being a semi-official Democrat.

**SWEDEN**—A new treaty of arbitration between Sweden and the United States was signed at Washington by W. Boström, Swedish Minister, and Secretary of State Kellogg. Its provisions were similar to those of the treaties recently entered into by the United States with Denmark, Finland and other States.

An industrial pact to outlaw future labor wars in Sweden is proposed for formulation by a representative assembly summoned at the initiative of the recently formed Conservative Government to meet in Stockholm in the near future. The organizer of this "industrial parliament" is Sven Luebeck, the new Minister of Social Welfare. His idea is that this body of two hundred representatives of capital and labor, with himself as chairman, will reach agreement so as to avoid strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and other industrial conflicts.





## The Rights of Former Property Owners in Russia

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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ONE of the most interesting of recent developments in Russian affairs has been the resurrection of the old controversy regarding the rights of foreign individuals and companies whose property was confiscated in the Revolution of 1917. Heretofore the Soviet Government has officially refused to concede the existence of these rights. It is clear that the rulers of Russia, in their double rôle of Government officials and leaders of the Communist Party, could not admit the principle that confiscation is theft, involving a moral duty of compensating the former owners, without subjecting themselves to the charge of heresy by their party members. When carrying on diplomatic negotiations with other countries, the Soviet Government has affirmed, at times, its willingness to allow the question of compensation for confiscated property to come before a mixed commission representing the countries concerned; but it has always presented such a formidable list of counterclaims that the demands of its creditors were virtually nullified.

Without yielding on the question of principle, the Soviet Union succeeded in winning recognition from France, Germany and England, the European countries chiefly concerned in the matter of compensation. And though the question of the rights of former property owners has constantly risen to vex the Russian officials when negotiating commercial treaties and contracts with foreign interests—especially in Germany, whose nationals lost most heavily in the Revolution—these officials have been consistently successful in evading or suppressing the issue. This question is of especial importance to American students of Russian affairs since it presents an insurmountable barrier to the recognition of Russia by this country as long as we stand firm for the conditions laid down by Secretary

Hughes in 1923, and the Soviet Union refuses to acknowledge its responsibility for the losses of former property owners.

In this regard, as in so many others, the rulers of Russia have discovered that it is one thing to base abstract political policy upon a principle which is at variance with the prevailing morality of capitalist nations, and quite a different thing to build up profitable economic relations with the outside world upon such a principle. Moreover, as was pointed out in these pages last month, Russia's need for economic aid from abroad was never greater than now. She has passed through periods of greater misery and poverty; in fact, by contrast with the conditions prevailing a few years ago, the present situation of the country is one of prosperity and hopefulness. But at no time has the success of her domestic policy been more clearly and admittedly conditioned upon the cooperation of foreign business interests. To enlist such cooperation from a multitude of private individuals and business concerns, all of whom consider confiscation and theft to be synonymous terms, is no light task as long as the record of the losses of former investors in Russia remains a charge against the Soviet régime.

Last Spring the Soviet Government placed \$5,000,000 in gold on deposit in New York banks to be used in payment for goods purchased in this country. Immediately the Bank of France brought suit to seize the gold, on the ground that it was part of a deposit belonging to the bank which had been confiscated by the Bolsheviks in Petrograd in 1917. While suit was pending, the gold was secretly shipped back to Russia by devious routes. In the Summer, the Soviet Government intimated that it would presently offer abroad a \$15,000,000 loan based on the Chinese Eastern Railway. Again the Bank of France, representing former investors in this railway, threatened to seize the proceeds of the loan, and the

project was abandoned. These are illustrations of the embarrassment under which the Russian Government labors in its conduct of foreign commercial relations as long as the claims of former property holders remain unliquidated.

Another example has come to light within the past month which involves the status in foreign markets of Russia's important oil industry. The exploitation of the rich oil resources of the Soviet Union, including the fields confiscated from foreign owners, is a Government monopoly carried on through Soviet agencies. The industry has expanded with great rapidity under constantly improving technical methods, and is already a formidable competitor of the oil companies of other countries in the markets of Asia and in Great Britain, where the Russian Oil Products Company has cut the price of gasoline below the cost of production of its competitors. For some time the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in which the British Government is a stockholder, and the Shell group, led by Sir Henri Deterding, have been attempting to reach an agreement with the Russian Oil Products Company looking toward a stabilization of prices in the British market. The proposal involved the granting by Russia of a 5 per cent. discount in the price of Soviet oil, the proceeds of the discount to create a fund for the reimbursement of former owners of oil properties in Russia. Since this proposal implied a tacit acknowledgement of the moral right of these former owners to compensation, Russia refused to accept it and the conference broke up with nothing accomplished.

Prior to the conference, the Shell oil companies had been attempting to close the markets of the world to Russian oil through boycott and other devices, all based upon the presumption that Russia is selling "stolen oil" to which she has no moral right of ownership. Having failed to reach an agreement through compromise, these companies now propose to exclude the products of the Russian Oil Company from the British market by law under the Safeguarding of Industries Act. Thus the international activities of this important Russian industry will be handicapped in the future as they have been in the past by the onus of unsatisfied claims to indemnifi-

cation for losses suffered in the Communist Revolution. There is reason, of course, to suspect the competing oil companies of concealing a selfish desire to buy Russian oil cheap under their protestations of righteous abhorrence of Communist principles; but this may be granted without affecting the point at issue. As long as the competitors of Russian industries can mobilize the moral feeling of the world against Russia, for however selfish and cynical a purpose, the international rehabilitation of that country may be indefinitely delayed.

Press dispatches on Oct. 19 announced the completion of a contract between the Soviet Government and the International General Electric Company of New York calling for the purchase of some \$25,000,000 worth of electrical equipment in this country during the next five years. Apart from the large amount of money involved, and the evidence it affords of the industrial progress of the Soviet Union, this contract involves two important questions of principle. The first touches the matter we have been discussing—the rights of former property owners in Russia. The General Electric has had an unsettled claim for \$1,750,000 against the Soviet Government on account of losses incurred in the nationalization program of the Communists. The first announcement of the new contract carried the statement that this claim had been settled; later statements made on this side have been studiously ambiguous. In Russia the official comment flatly denied that the Soviet Government had agreed to reimburse the company for its former property and, in fact, claimed a complete victory in the argument over this question. We are, therefore, in doubt as to the exact status of the matter, but it is safe to assume that the original statement of the company was near the truth, and that the Soviet Government in this case was compelled by its urgent need for economic cooperation to surrender its position. If this is so, the incident suggests the interesting possibility that one obstacle to official recognition of Russia by this country may gradually be removed by private negotiation between our business concerns and the Soviet Government.

The other question of principle also bears on the official relations between this coun-

try and the Soviet Government. The contract is especially favorable to Russia in that it calls for a cash payment of only 25 per cent. and provides a five-year credit period for the balance. This means, in effect, that the Soviet Government has arranged to borrow some \$20,000,000 from our banks to be spent on American goods. Heretofore, the State Department at Washington has virtually forbidden American financial interests to lend money to the Soviet Government on the ground that, since we do not recognize the existence of that Government, our own policy would be embarrassed by financial alliances with it.

We now learn that the State Department was a party to the negotiations preceding the signing of this contract and offered no opposition to its credit feature. In explanation of this apparent change of front, the State Department draws a distinction between loans to the Soviet Government which it condemns, and loans to Russian business concerns which it holds to be of no interest to our Government officially. But this is a distinction with little meaning to the layman. In Russia foreign trade is a Government monopoly; the contract with the General Electric bears the signature of the Amtorg—an official agency of the Soviet Union; the credit instruments resulting from it will be signed by the State Bank of Russia, and will be an indirect obligation of the Government. It would appear to the ordinary man that a breach had been made in our opposition to dealing with Communist Russia, and that this in conjunction with Russia's handling of the General Electric's claim to compensation, may foreshadow new developments in the field of diplomatic relations.

Such, at any rate, is the interpretation of the incident accepted by ruling opinion in Russia. The *Pravda*, principal organ of the Communist Party, *Economic Life* and other leading Soviet newspapers have hailed the General Electric contract as the beginning of a new era in the diplomatic relations of the two countries. So optimistic a view is, no doubt, based more on hope and desire than on cool appraisal of the facts. But it is significant that the Soviet leaders have seized upon the opportunity to declare their readiness to go farther than heretofore toward meeting our terms

of recognition. Their attitude is no longer disdainful and contemptuous, as in the past, but openly conciliatory. On the basis of the existing evidence it seems probable that official overtures to reopen the question of recognition will be made by the Soviet Union in the near future.

The critical state of Russia's domestic policy which, in external affairs, is responsible for her eagerness to enlist financial aid from abroad, has raised at home formidable problems within the Communist Party. The expulsion of the Trotsky faction a year ago gave a false appearance of unity to the counsels of the Party. As a matter of fact, Trotsky and his lieutenants were not punished because they disagreed with the policy of the Stalin group, but because they persisted in their attacks upon this policy, through illegal means, after it had been approved by a majority of the Party. Their expulsion left the party united only on one principle: that no disloyalty to Party rulings shall be tolerated when decision has been reached after preliminary presentation of conflicting opinions. Trotsky and a handful of irreconcilables remain in exile in Turkestan, but most of his followers have returned to the fold on the condition, not that they agree with Stalin in matters of policy, but that they abandon their disruptive tactics. On the major issue of how to solve the conflict of interest between the industrial and the agrarian sections of the population, the Party remains divided into three groups of opinion. At one extreme are those who would sacrifice the interests of the peasants and employ ruthless coercive measures to force their policy upon the countryside. At the opposite extreme, the conservative elements in the Party propose partially to abandon the program of industrialization in the interests of the peasants, especially the wealthier and more "capitalistic" sections of the peasantry. Between these two extremes, Stalin has been attempting to steer a middle course, clinging to the policy of promoting rapid industrialization in the urban centers, and a spread of State farms and other communistic enterprises in agriculture, without antagonizing the independent farmers who form the bulk of Russia's population.

In October rumors were afloat of another



split in the party. These were, at first, denied; but toward the end of the month they received confirmation in the sudden expulsion of four high officials in Moscow on the charge of heresy. This new schism, though less formidable than that precipitated by Trotsky last year, is known to have spread through many local party units and to have aroused bitter controversy. The "heretics" are at the opposite pole from Trotsky, representing the extreme conservative wing which criticizes the Stalin policy as too radical. Though their leaders have been expelled with savage invective, the Central Committee of the party conceded the formidable nature of the opposition by throwing the whole question open for gen-

eral discussion. This is but additional testimony to the fact that, in matters of economic policy, the Soviet Government and Communist Party are at the crossroads. The Government has yet to construct a program which will neither be blocked by peasant resistance nor be broken down through disruption of the Communist Party. The trend at the present moment is toward less doctrinaire and less radical measures, as shown by the increasing moderation of the régime's international policies and the more liberal treatment of the peasants; though the recent heresy trials within the party are proof that there are limits beyond which the rulers of Russia will not go in their shift toward the Right.

#### TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

## Arab Demands for Constitutional Government

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

IN days before the World War some Arabs were touched with the dreams of independence and nationality, intangible but powerful ideas which disengaged themselves from the hard practicality and the vast mechanical progress of the West. Remembering dimly the vast Arabian Empires of yester-year, these men visioned a united Arabia, its borders freed from the threat of Turk, German and Persian, its coasts under no fear from English, French and Italians. Such peace and prosperity as its vast tracts have never known would be guarded and advanced by those wonderful creations of the latest age, Constitutions and parliaments. Benevolent but stern emissaries of the Entente Allies came with shiploads of rifles and ammunition and chests of coined gold. The fierce-fighting, stubborn Turk and his ally, the trained and disciplined German, were thrown out of the Arab's land, and the war came to an end. But where were parliaments and Constitutions? Where were independence and the single united Arab nation?

Ten years have elapsed since the armistice. Unity rests far below the horizon.

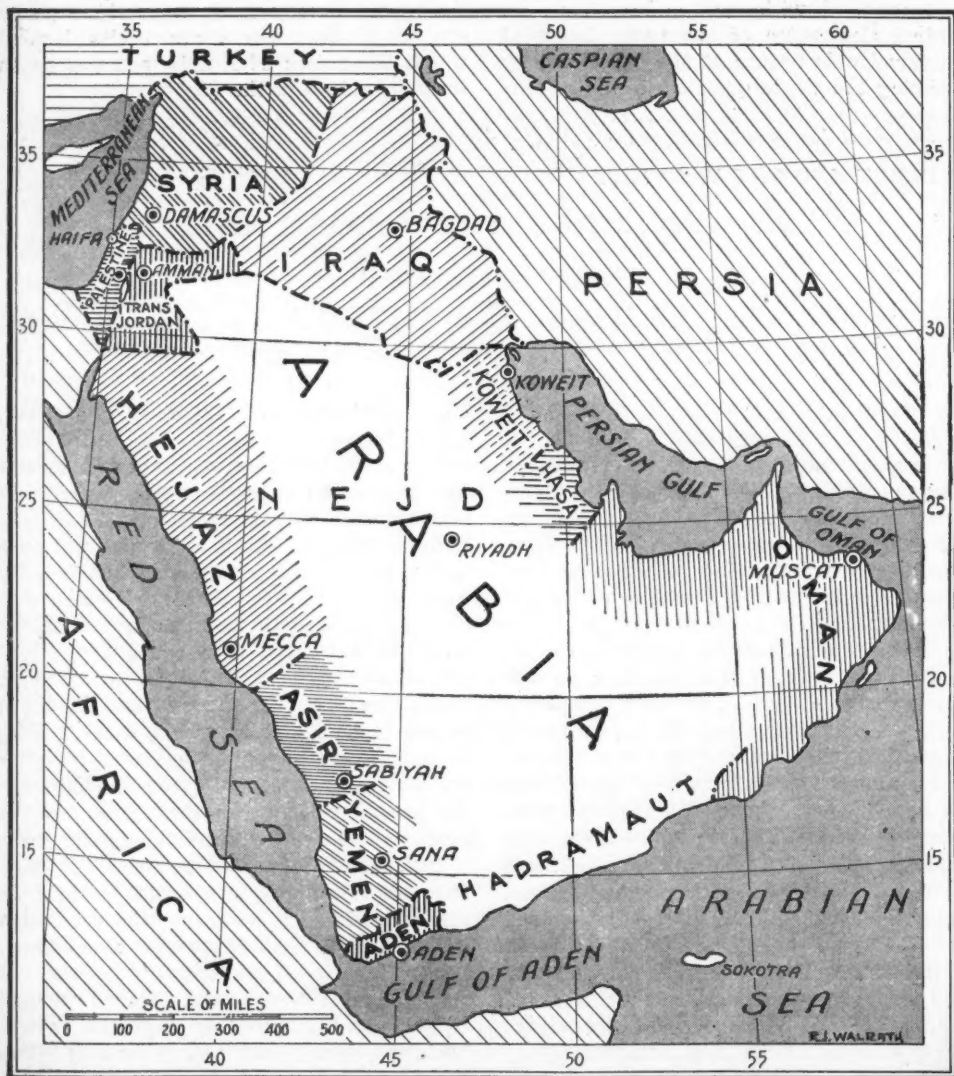
Parts of Arabia are independent; at least, their despotic rulers are not foreigners but Arabs. Constitutions and parliaments are not wholly mirages of the desert. In lands where Great Britain controls, as Trans-Jordan and Iraq, there are not only Constitutions and parliaments but treaties with the mandatory Power. France also has given a Constitution and a parliament to the Lebanon, and has encouraged the people of Damascus and Aleppo to work at fashioning such for themselves. If there is not to be a single Arabia, there will at least be a number of Arab States, in every one of which in some degree and measure the people will be consulted, and government will operate under fundamental laws.

One should hardly be surprised perhaps that an Arab congress could be held at Singapore in May, 1928, nor that the Arabs gathered there should represent that barren, thinly populated, southern coastland of Arabia called Hadramaut. Far away and singular as this assembly might be, it nevertheless looked back to a preceding "Congress of Hadramaut for Reform," which was held at Makalla in October, 1927. Rep-

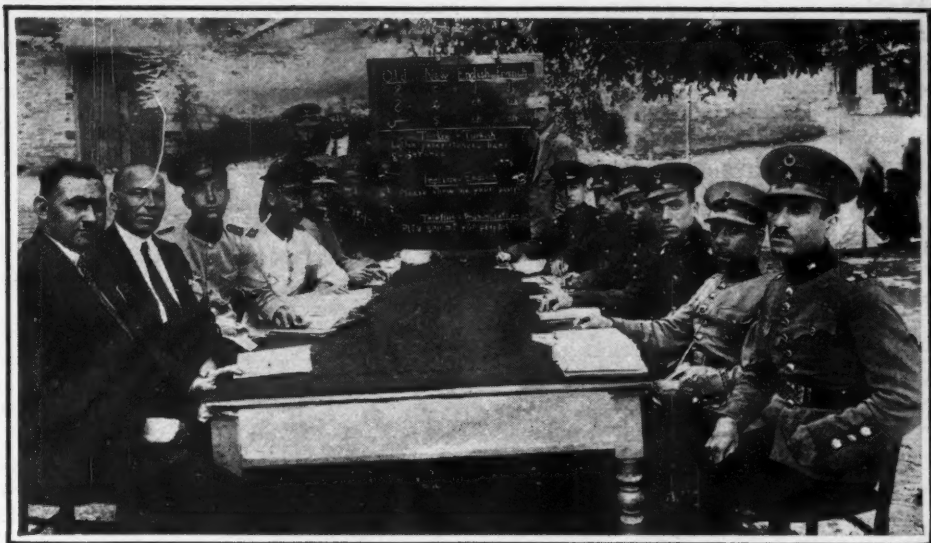
representatives came to Singapore from Hadramaut itself and from four associations of Hadramaut Arabs residing in Malaysia, and others participated from the Arab colony in Singapore.

The congress considered the following points: The sending of a delegation to the different parts of Hadramaut to make known the decisions of the congress and to urge the calling of a national assembly, the collection of necessary funds by subscription, an invitation to the Governments in

Hadramaut to submit annual budgets to the national assembly, the regularization of customs houses, the organization of a commercial company, the improvement of public instruction and courts of justice, and the proposal to nominate officials who should be attached to the offices of British Consuls in foreign lands for the assistance of Arabs of Hadramaut. The last provision, of course, as well as the place of meeting of this congress, shows a certain relationship to the British Empire.



Map of Arabia



Wide World

The police of Constantinople attending required classes in instruction in the Roman alphabet and numerals

Another Nationalist congress was held at Ammea in Trans-Jordan in July. This was called forth in quite a different way, representing a reaction against the treaty which had lately been arranged with Great Britain. A "National Pact" was drawn up, in the preamble of which reference was made to the promises of the great ally and to the fourteen points of President Wilson. The following principles were laid down:

1. The Emirate of Trans-Jordan is an independent Arab State, endowed with sovereignty within its known natural borders.
2. Trans-Jordan is governed by an independent constitutional Arab Government under Emir Abdallah.
3. Trans-Jordan recognizes the principle of the mandate only as regards technical assistance for the advantage of the country, this to be rendered according to a treaty on the basis of reciprocal rights and interests.
4. Trans-Jordan considers the Balfour Declaration to be contrary to the engagements and promises of Great Britain to the Arabs.
5. Any election held in Trans-Jordan,

based on rules which do not involve the responsibility of the Government to the elected representative council, are not to be considered as expressing the will of the nation. If persons so elected make important decisions, such shall be regarded as arbitrary acts of the Mandatory Power on its own responsibility.

6. Trans-Jordan refuses military service imposed by a Government that is not constitutional and responsible.

7. Trans-Jordan refuses to support a foreign military corps, and holds that a tax imposed to pay such would be extorted unjustly from the sweat of workmen and farmers.

Trans-Jordan considers that moneys advanced by the British Government are spent for the protection of British communication and in defense of British interests. They give Great Britain no right to control the finances of Trans-Jordan: "We affirm that the present unjust financial arrangement is not worthy of a rich ally like Great Britain in dealing with a country like Trans-Jordan."

## OTHER EVENTS IN TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

**TURKEY**—President Mustapha Kemal embarked in September on the steamer Izmir and took occasion to call at a number of ports on the Black Sea coast, afterward participating in festivities in Amasia,

Tokat and Sivas. He also took occasion everywhere he went to examine Government officials in their acquaintance with the new alphabet. Where he found deficiency, he bestowed reprimands.



Pursuing its plan of rapid adoption of the Latin alphabet the Government required that Turkish schools delay their opening until Oct. 1 in order to be provided with the new textbooks, and ordered newspapers to be printed in the new characters after Dec. 1.

**E**GYPT—Abdel Khalek Sarwat Pasha died on Sept. 22, being the fourth distinguished Egyptian to pass away during the last twelve months. Hussein Rushdi Pasha, Saad Zaghlul Pasha and Mohamed Said Pasha preceded him. Some say that his is the most serious loss of all: "He was the Cavour, and Zaghlul was the Mazzini of Egypt." He was to an unusual extent a constructive statesman. He pleased the large proportion of his countrymen, and at the same time remained on excellent terms with the British Government. He is believed to have had much to do with the British Declaration Concerning Egypt of Feb. 28, 1922, and he succeeded a year ago in negotiating a treaty between Great Britain and Egypt, which, however, turned out not to be acceptable to the Nationalist Government.

King Fuad paid a visit in October to the Siwa Oasis, where a great reception of desert chiefs was held in his honor.

During September Mohammed Pasha Mahmud, the Prime Minister, paid a visit to the cities of upper Egypt. He was received enthusiastically at all points, and this is interpreted by his friends to mean that the people of Egypt are no longer attached so strongly to the Wafd Party.

The Prime Minister spoke at Mansurah on Nov. 11, when he declared that every act of the Government is a step toward the restoration of Parliament, which will be brought about when order is secure and politics regularized without fear. The Government, he added, did not rest on British bayonets, but on its own and the King's strength, and it was the Nationalists who were now seeking British intervention to restore them to power.

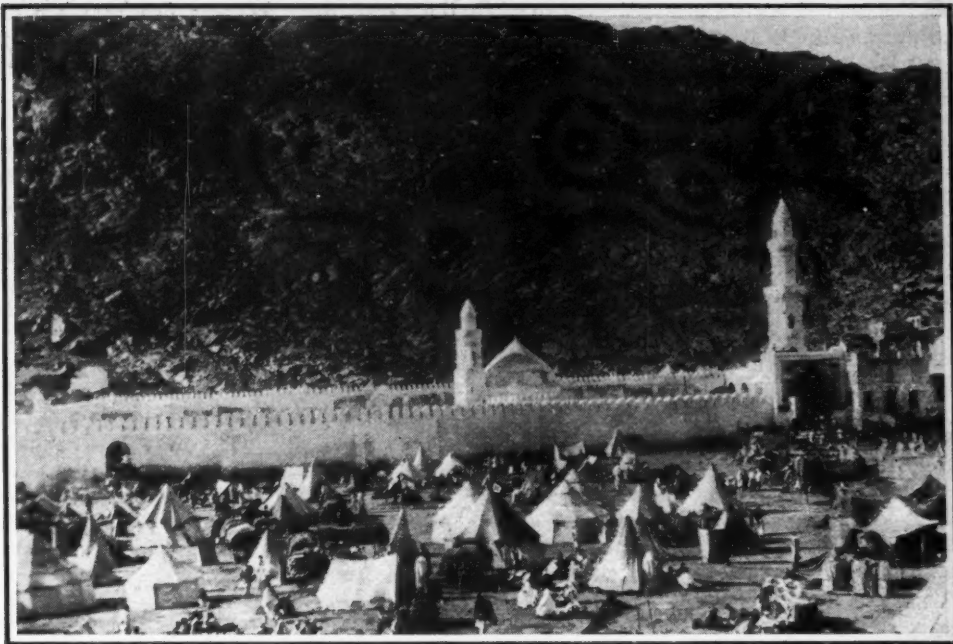
**T**HE SUDAN—Sir John Loader Maffey, Governor General, has expressed the opinion that the progress of The Sudan may become too rapid. During the past five years 100 miles of railway have been built

each year, \$1,500,000 has been spent on the harbor at Port Sudan, and at that place about 3,500,000 tons of shipping has been handled every year. Roads have been built, and there are now 2,000 automobiles in the country. Foreign trade amounts to \$57,000,000 a year. During the coming season 131,000 acres will be in cotton, an increase of 25 per cent. over 1927. The figure is expected to reach 170,000 acres in 1930, which will be about one-third of the total land under cultivation.

**P**ALESTINE—The agitation over the clash between Jews and the police at the Wailing Wall on Atonement Day continued throughout October. All groups of Jews in Palestine have joined in a demand that the actual ownership of the Wailing Wall shall be conveyed to the Jews. The Government issued a kind of apology, in which it stated that it "deeply deplores the shock that was caused to large numbers of religious people on a day so holy to the Jews." The Zionist Organization prepared at Jerusalem under date of Oct. 12 an appeal to the League of Nations demanding "the provision of proper conditions for Jewish worship at the most sacred place of prayer for all Jewry." The Moslems, like the Jews, held meetings and prepared a declaration which they presented to the Government to the effect that the Moslems own the Wailing Wall "as an organic part of the Mosque of Omar," and that they will never allow any change in the traditional arrangements. Here the dispute appears to rest for the present.

At a meeting of Zionists and non-Zionists in New York on Oct. 20 and 21, resolutions were adopted looking to cooperation in support of the work in Palestine. An enlarged Jewish Agency was projected, one-half of the Council of which, as well as of the executive committee, shall be non-Zionists. Forty per cent. of the non-Zionist members of the Council shall be American Jews. An organization, either voluntary or incorporated, is to be formed to carry out the purposes of the resolution.

The Moslem authorities who control the Temple Area are reported to have issued an order prohibiting the entrance of Moslem men who wear European hats and of Moslem women who are unveiled or who



Publishers Photo Service

Pilgrims camping before a mosque near Mecca. This year Mecca was visited by over 100,000 pilgrims

show their arms or legs. This order will make it difficult for Turks to visit this holy place.

The immigration question continues to be acute in Palestine. Two classes of immigrants are admitted—those who enter as laborers with certificates in which the Zionist Executive guarantees to maintain the holder for at least one year, and other persons who apply directly to the authorities. The regulations provide, however, that the chief immigration officer at the place of entry must also give permission to those who have certificates. Some persons thus provided have been refused entrance. No certificates have been granted since September, 1927. Application was made by the Zionist Executive to be allowed to grant 1,200 new certificates and permission was given to grant 600 within the next half year, of which 100 may be to women. Persons without these certificates are required to show that they have or can obtain means sufficient for their support. In many cases the process of proving this has required about a year. It is felt that thus many desirable immigrants have been deterred

from entering. It is also felt that the number of investors and employers has been restricted unduly, to the economic disadvantage of the country.

**SYRIA**—The press of Damascus became violent in September. A new paper called *Al Nizan* appeared, with a policy of supporting the Mandatory Power as against the Nationalist Syrians. It was suspected that the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, Sheikh Taj-Eddin al Hassani, was subsidizing this paper. Some young Nationalists beat the editor, Fauzi Amin. He retaliated by assaulting a leading Nationalist, and this was followed by many fights and some collisions with the police. *Al Nizan* was suspended for one month.

**AFGHANISTAN** — The King recently attempted to introduce the Cabinet system, but Sher Ahmed Kakn, whom he invited to be Prime Minister, was unable to organize a Cabinet. The King announced that he would himself act as Prime Minister, and appointed Ghulam Sadiq Khan as Minister of Foreign Affairs,

and Mohammed Wali Khan as Regent to act during the King's absence from the capital.

At least one measure of King Amanullah's program of reforms is reported to have met with fierce opposition. He is said to have been compelled to abandon the order which he issued for the abolition of the veil.

**I**RAQ—Announcement has been made that Brig. Gen. Sir Gilbert Clayton will become High Commissioner for Iraq upon the retirement early next year of Sir Henry Dobbs. Sir Gilbert has been for some years England's principal negotiator with Arab Governments.

**A**RABIA—The Hejaz Government has strengthened the law against the importation of liquor. European residents at Jeddah have been denied the former special permission to bring in limited quantities for

their own use. Tobacco has not been excluded, though that also is contrary to Wahabi principles.

**P**ERSIA—At the beginning of October it was reported that the Shah had issued an executive order forbidding the wearing of the veil by women, and that a law was being debated in the Parliament making it a crime for a Persian to compel his women-folk to wear the veil. The Shah is said also to have ordered that women be permitted to attend social functions.

Whereas three years ago there was a serious shortage of wheat in Northern Persia, there is at the present time a surplus on hand, and Russian authorities have been negotiating to purchase part of this for use in the Caucasus region, which has had a bad harvest. The price asked in Persia is so high as to hinder the conclusion of the transaction.

#### THE FAR EAST

## Hirohito Ascends Throne of Japan

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

**T**HE Emperor of Japan, Hirohito Tenno, together with Empress Nagako, ascended the most ancient and, in theory at least, the most absolute throne in the civilized world on Nov. 10.

The ceremony took place at Kyoto, the old capital. It was part of a series of traditional acts which began with the imperial departure from Tokio on Nov. 6 and ended on Nov. 26. The Emperor and Empress were driven from Tokio to Kyoto in separate carriages, followed by Prince and Princess Chichibu, others of the royal household and important officials. At the head of the procession was carried the sacred ark, the *Kashikodokoro*, within which rested the most precious of the three imperial emblems—the mirror, sword and jewels. Twenty thousand troops lined the streets from the Tokio palace to the railway station and the procession moved in silence, save for the bugles blowing the imperial salute. Two hundred thousand reverent

spectators showed their feelings by uncovering heads and bowing low. When the station was reached the imperial band played the national anthem and a salute of 101 guns was fired.

On the morning of Nov. 10 the Emperor and Empress knelt before the *Kashikodokoro* and prayed for the blessing of the sun goddess upon the dynasty and for the continued happiness and prosperity of their subjects. The ark was placed upon its arrival in Kyoto in a hall of its own within the palace, which was open to the gaze of the 2,000 persons permitted to observe this ceremony. At a signal—three strokes upon drums and gongs ranged about the outer court—food offerings were placed before the shrine, a Shinto priest read a prayer, ancient Shinto music was heard and the sacred sword and jewels were placed upon stands beside the kneeling-mats. The prayers of the Emperor and Empress, offered separately, with the prayers of other



members of the imperial family, followed. Then the gongs and drums sounded again and the rite was at an end.

The principal act in the drama of enthronement occurred in the afternoon of the same day. In the Hall of State, flanked by State officials in splendid robes and carrying bows and arrows, spears and other emblems, the Emperor and Empress seated themselves on throne-chairs. Near them were placed the sacred sword and jewels. Receiving from a chamberlain the baton or sceptre the Emperor rose, proceeded to read an imperial rescript announcing his succession and promising to rule in the interest of his people's welfare, and again took his seat on the throne. The Empress also stood while the rescript was read. The Premier then read a congratulatory address, after

which he descended the steps leading from the throne and led the assembly in three *banzai* (hurrahs), which were given simultaneously throughout the Empire. During the two weeks following a number of traditional rites were re-enacted, the most significant being the two-fold *daijo-sai* or "new food festival," in which the Emperor, alone save for the services of two attendants, twice feasted the sun goddess with newly harvested rice, once before and once after midnight. Banquets, grant of honors, the reward of civic virtue, release of prisoners and other marks of imperial favor accompanied the lengthy ritual of enthroning the 124th Emperor of the Yamato line, so far the only royal house that has ever ruled Japan and believed by all Japanese to be destined to reign throughout recorded time.

## OTHER EVENTS IN THE FAR EAST

**JAPAN**—The Cabinet approved a budget of yen 1,752,000,000 (\$876,000,000), an increase of only \$11,000,000 over that of the present year. Fear of still further weakening the present unstable position of the Cabinet dictated the modest increase. Army and navy increases were responsible for the larger budget.

Manchuria, Shantung, Nanking and commercial treaty revision—questions at issue between Japan and China—unhappily remained unsettled and apparently without early hope of settlement. Attention was drawn by Japan to China's unsecured debts to Japanese banks, amounting to \$150,000,000 gold—the notorious "Nishihara loans" made during the World War. It was reported that Japan would not agree to new customs rates in China unless provision were made for repayment of the loans. Count Uchida, who recently visited Washington, returned to Tokio and advised Premier Tanaka to recognize the Nanking Government. Mr. J. Inouye stated to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Hongkong that Japan's trade with the South Sea Islands, including the Philippines, Singapore, Java and Sumatra, had been so severely boycotted as to have dropped from a monthly average of \$1,500,000 to only \$50,000.

A loan of \$19,900,000 in 30-year bonds at 5½ per cent. was announced as arranged with the National City Bank of New York

by the Oriental Development Company, the principal and interest guaranteed by the Japanese Government. This company operates in Manchuria and occupies much the same position toward the Japanese Government as the South Manchurian Railway. The new funds were to be used to retire existing loans. The Chinese Government instructed its Minister at Washington, Dr. Alfred Sze, to investigate and to protest the loan, if found to be intended for the development of Manchurian enterprises.

Six thousand Japanese troops were withdrawn from Shantung, leaving 6,000 in the province. These have been provided with Winter barracks so that the occupation is clearly destined to be maintained indefinitely. The City of Tsinan, capital of Shantung, is now policed in its entirety by the Japanese. The Nationalist flag may not be flown officially within the zone of occupation which extends from Tsing-tao on the coast along the railway to Tsinan and about seven miles on each side of the railway. The Japanese also continue to deny the Chinese access to the Yellow River bridge for repair operations, thus blocking the reopening of the main line of railway between Tientsin and Nanking.

**CHINA**—The new régime got under way with General Chiang Kai-shek as Chairman of both the Government Council—

by virtue of which he is President of the Government—and the Central Executive Council of the Nationalist (Kuomintang) Party. The following Chairmen of the five supreme boards were named: Tan Yen-kai, Feng Yu-hsiang, Vice Chairman, Executive Board; Hu Han-min, Legislative Board; Wang Chung-hui, Judicial Board; Tai Chitao, Examination Board; Chang Chin-chiang, Supervisory Board. The ten Ministers of departments were appointed as follows:

C. T. Wang, Foreign Affairs; T. V. Soong, Finance; Feng Yu-hsiang, War; Yi Pei-chi, Agriculture; H. H. Kung, Industry; Chiang Meng-ling, Education; Sun Fo, Railways; Yen Hsi-shan, Interior; Wang Po-chun, Communications; Hsueh Tu-pi, Health.

The "Organic Law of the National Government" was promulgated. This may be regarded as a working Constitution until such time as a more complete instrument is prepared and accepted. The present pe-

riod of China's history is called the period of tutelage or discipline, following the terminology of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's instructions. It is admittedly necessary for a time to disregard the full implications of democracy since the people at large are not prepared to participate in politics. The "Organic Law" was framed and placed in effect by those in power at Nanking, China's new capital, which means by the Nationalist Party and its military supporters. The step seems advisable at this stage.

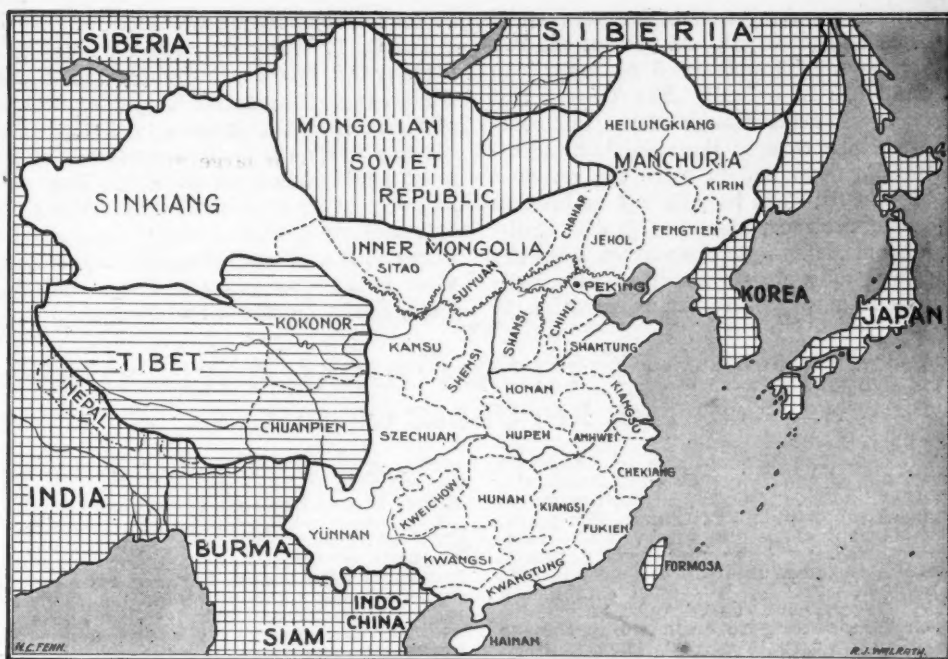
The Nanking Government is frankly a party government in the full sense of the term. The annual congress or convention of the Kuomintang elects a Central Executive Council to act at such intervals as it finds necessary; this Council appoints three important agencies—a standing committee, to act for the Council continuously; a central political council, to link the party councils in other parts of the country, and a national defense council, to express the views of the party on military issues. At this point appears the administrative organization as distinct from the party agencies. The Central Executive Council of the party chooses the Nationalist Government Council, of which the Chairman, also designated by the party, is President of the Government. The Government Council chooses five boards or *yuan*—indicated above—and the Executive Board chooses ten department heads or Ministers—also indicated above.

The apparent multiplicity of councils and boards is due to the desire to maintain needed checks against the growth of too great power in one hand. All offices, even those of the legislative *yuan*, are appointive. The work of the Legislative Board, therefore, is not lawmaking in the true sense but the drafting or consideration of executive ordinances. This also is an advantage at the present stage. The executive *yuan* is a sort of Premiership supervising the ten Ministries, with which it forms a Cabinet. The holders of portfolios are all outstanding men, not a type to rubber-stamp another's orders. The judicial *yuan* is a department of justice; the examination *yuan* is a civil service commission, while the control *yuan* or supervisory board is an auditing and impeachment agency, somewhat suggestive of the old imperial board of censors. There is an evident advantage in having the latter



Times Wide World

**GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK**  
Elected President of the Government of  
China on Oct. 9



Map of China Proper and neighboring territories

two organs functioning independently of the Cabinet.

The new criminal code and the new code of criminal procedure became effective on Sept. 1. Hitherto the courts have been applying provisional codes.

Notable among the members of the National Government Council, in which the power is centred, is General Chang Hsueh-liang, overlord of Manchuria. His willingness to be included, though prevented by conditions beyond his control from adopting the Nationalist flag, was an important gain for the Government cause. On the other hand, Li Chai-sum, the "boss" of Canton, and Li Tsung-jen, in control at Hankow, are missing from the list. The latter were not known to be opposed to the above-recorded developments.

Advisers of American and German nationality were announced as engaged by the Nanking Government to assist it on various problems. Dr. E. E. Kemmerer of Princeton University was obtained to advise on currency and banking, and Ernest P. Goodrich, engineer, and Henry K. Murphy, architect, were given contracts to make Canton a deep-water port and to plan the develop-

ment of Nanking as the capital city. Other prominent Americans mentioned as invited to become "honorary economic advisers" are Henry Ford, Owen D. Young, Professor Jeremiah Jenks, Professor E. R. A. Seligman and R. N. Harper. The German engaged to assist is Colonel Bauer, former member of the German General Staff, who will advise on military reorganization.

The Government at Nanking announced the formation of the Central Bank of China, capital \$20,000,000 (Mex.). T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, was made Governor and the bank was linked up with the existing Bank of China. The Government will provide capital for the bank, but private persons may buy stock up to a limit of 49 per cent. of the total. At the same time a loan of \$30,000,000 was offered, priced at 92, interest 8 per cent.

Reports of a severe outbreak of plague came from Fenchow, near Taiyuan, Shansi Province. They stated that 2,000 persons had died and that the plague was out of control.

Holders of Chinese bonds secured upon the salt revenues were somewhat reassured by the Government's announcement of its



intention to make provision for payment of interest and principal. At present the Hu-kuang loan, 1911, and the 5 per cent. loan of 1912 are in default. The Government plans to set aside enough of the salt revenues to take care of the obligations guaranteed on them and to place the revenues in certain banks to be paid out as interest and amortization payments fall due. Salt-secured bonds rose on the market when the plan was announced. Later reports indicated doubt respecting the cooperation of

certain salt-producing provinces.

Dr. C. T. Wang sent identic notes to a number of Powers, including the United States, requesting action looking toward the abolition of extraterritoriality. He indicated his anticipation that the American Government would assume a lead in this issue as it had respecting customs control. The State Department denied having received Dr. Wang's note. Negotiations for new treaties were under way between China and Belgium, Spain, Denmark and Portugal.

## ORGANIC LAW OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

*Preamble*—The Kuomintang of China, in pursuance of the Three People's Principles and the Five Power Constitution, hereby establishes the Republic of China. The party, having swept away and removed all obstacles by military force and having passed from the period of military conquest to that of political tutelage, now must establish a model Government based upon the Five Power Constitution to train the people so that they are able to exercise their political powers and facilitate the party in hastening the handing over of such powers to the people.

Accordingly, the Kuomintang, in fulfilling the duty of direction and supervision of the National Government devolving upon it by

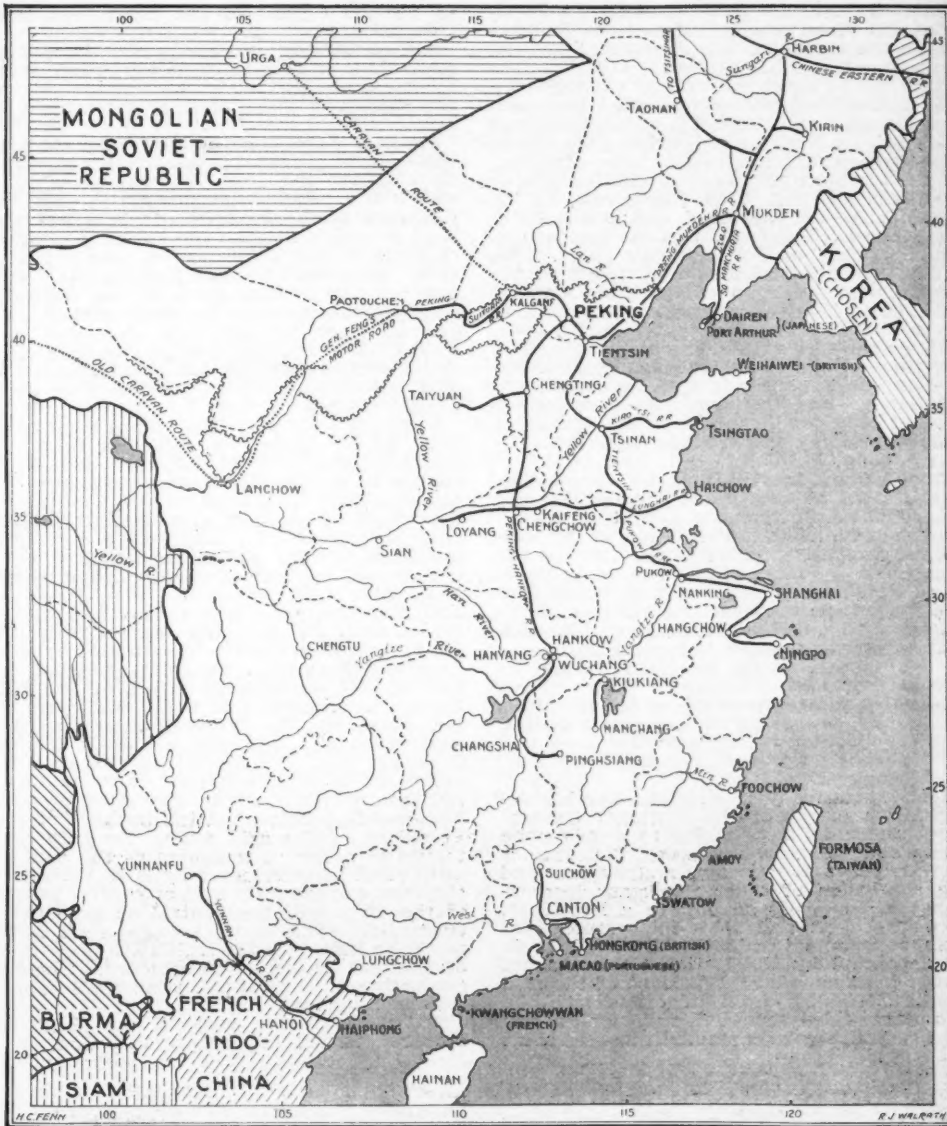
virtue of its history, hereby formulates and promulgates the law governing the organization of the National Government.

*Organization*—The National Government shall exercise all governing powers of the Republic of China and shall have supreme command of the land, naval and air forces, and shall have the power to declare war, negotiate peace, conclude treaties, and shall exercise the power of granting amnesties, pardons and reprieves and the restitution of civic rights.

The National Government shall be composed of five *yuan*, executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control. There shall be a President and from twelve to sixteen State Councilors of the National Govern-



Scene at meeting organized by Chinese Nationalist students



Map of China Proper

ment, from which the Presidents and Vice Presidents of the five *yuan* shall be appointed.

**President**—The President of the National Government shall represent the Government in receiving foreign diplomats and in officiating over and participating in State functions. The President shall concurrently be the Commander-in-Chief of the land, naval and air forces. If the President is unable to discharge his duties through any cause whatsoever the President of the executive *yuan* shall act.

The National Government shall conduct

national affairs through a State Council, of which the President of the National Government shall be the Chairman. All matters which cannot be settled between two or more *yuan* shall be referred to the State Council for decision. All laws promulgated and all mandates issued by virtue of a decision of the State Council shall be signed by the President of the National Government and shall be countersigned by the Presidents of the five *yuan*. Each of the five *yuan* may, according to law, issue orders.

**Executive Yuan**—The executive *yuan* shall be the highest executive organ of the

National Government and shall have a President and Vice President, the latter substituting in the absence of the President. The executive *yuan* shall establish Ministries to which will be entrusted various executive duties and may appoint commissions for specified executive matters. The Ministries shall each have a Minister, a political Vice Minister and an administrative Vice Minister, and the various commissions shall each have a Chairman and Vice Chairman, all of whom shall be appointed and removed by the National Government at the instance of the President of the executive *yuan*. The Ministers and Chairmen may when necessary attend meetings of the State Council and the legislative *yuan*, and the executive *yuan* may introduce in the legislative *yuan* bills on matters within its competence. The meetings of the executive *yuan* shall be attended by the President, Vice President, Ministers and Chairmen of commissions thereof and shall decide upon legislative bills which may be introduced into the legislative *yuan*.

**Legislative Yuan**—Budgets, amnesties, declarations of war, peace negotiations and the conclusion of treaties and other important international matters are to be submitted to the legislative *yuan*; also the appointment or dismissal of all officials above third-class rank; also all matters which cannot be settled between the various Ministries and commissions of the executive *yuan*, and all matters which according to law or in the opinion of the President should be decided at such meetings. The various Ministries and commissions of the executive *yuan* may, according to law, issue orders. The organization of the executive *yuan* and its various Ministries and commissions shall be determined by law.

The legislative *yuan* shall be the highest legislative organ of the National Government and shall have power to decide upon legislation, budgets, amnesties, declarations of war, peace negotiations and treaties and the conclusion of other important international matters. It shall have a President, Vice President and shall be composed of from forty-nine to ninety-nine members to be appointed by the National Government at the instance of the President of the said *yuan*. Members' term of office shall be two years. Members shall not concurrently be non-political or administrative officials

of various organs of the central or local Governments.

All resolutions passed by the legislative *yuan* shall be decided upon and promulgated by the State Council. The organization of the legislative *yuan* shall be determined by law.

**Judicial Yuan**—The judicial *yuan* shall be the highest judicial organ of the National Government and shall take charge of judicial trials, judicial administration, the disciplinary punishment of officials and the trial of administrative cases. The granting of pardons, reprieves and the restitution of civic rights shall be submitted by the President of the judicial *yuan* to the National Government for approval and action. The judicial *yuan* shall have a President and Vice President and may introduce bills within its competence into the legislative *yuan*. The organization of the judicial *yuan* shall be determined by law.

**Examination Yuan**—The examination *yuan* shall be the highest examination organ of the National Government and shall take charge of examinations and determine the qualifications for public service. All public functionaries shall be appointed only after they have passed an examination and their qualifications for public service have been determined by the examination *yuan* which shall have a President and Vice President and may introduce bills on matters within its competence into the legislative *yuan*. Its organization shall be determined by law.

**Control Yuan**—The control *yuan* shall be the highest supervisory organ of the National Government and shall, according to law, exercise the following powers: impeachment and auditing. It shall have a President and Vice President and shall be composed of from nineteen to twenty-nine members, who shall be appointed by the National Government at the instance of the President of the said *yuan*. Security and tenure of office of members of the control *yuan* shall be determined by law. Members shall not concurrently hold any office in any of the organs of the central or local Governments. The control *yuan* shall have power to introduce the legislative *yuan* bills on matters within its competence. The organization of the control *yuan* shall be determined by law.

**Enforcement**—The present law shall be enforced on the day of promulgation.





# To and From Our Readers

*Continued from Page XXII of Front Advertising Section*

of the law, admitting that several defeatists have dallied with the so-called foreign vote. Nor are the advocates of the present law conspicuously silent on the subject of Mexican immigration. They are fighting tooth and nail, in opposition to powerful commercial interests, to stem this alien flood. Here Major LaGuardia draws another herring across the path!

Lastly it may be asked of Congressman LaGuardia whether he considers Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith and their immediate backers, in view of their obvious bid for the "foreign vote," as representing the entire American people in the assertion that "everybody cannot be wrong"? Will either of these two candidates be able to say, even as President, "L'état, c'est moi"? And have all of our Presidents been infallible in all things? At any rate, the decision as to the maintenance of the whole law rests with the new Congress.

CLINTON S. BURR.

Brooklyn, N. Y. \* \* \*

## THE BENEFITS OF READING HISTORY

*To the Editor of Current History:*

To present so naively such a long list of benefits to be derived from reading history as did John Lee Maddox in the September CURRENT HISTORY is the reverse of the practice of scientific historians who nowadays are wary of enumerating the values of historical study. All studies have suffered from exaggerated claims as to their practical use, but history seems to be the most unfortunate of all. Of the various benefits claimed for history throughout the ages it seems that Mr. Maddox has succeeded in including almost all.

That history satisfies—to a limited extent only—our curiosity of the past, describes origins of institutions and presents a broader view of life, we can agree. But how does it enable us "to separate the permanent elements in contemporary life from those which are accidental and transient"? Mr. Maddox, if he wishes, may attack the Continental Congress of 1787 for not prohibiting slavery on moral or ethical grounds, but when he postulates that historical knowledge could have foreseen and prevented the Civil War, he claims too much. It is well known that slavery was on the wane and was expected to disappear. No amount of historical knowledge could have foretold the cotton gin.

When history is presented as a subject that inspires good qualities and ennobles character, only one kind of history can be referred to—

the purified history of our textbooks. History, that is, the record of human events, contains characters noble and ignoble, good and bad. Clio has not the same freedom of choice as the textbook writer. The other benefits follow the same order: History develops mind, power of observation, memory; it is an "antidote to credulity," and it shows how iniquity is punished and virtue rewarded. Perhaps history does perform some of these functions to a certain degree, but so do numerous other studies. When speaking of the benefits or aims of history I should prefer to follow Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers College, who suggests that only those be included that are exclusively developed by the study of history or those that can best be so developed. With that as a guide, most of the values mentioned by Mr. Maddox would have to be deleted.

ISRAEL J. SOLEMNICK.

Brooklyn, N. Y. \* \* \*

## NEUTRAL RIGHTS

*To the Editor of Current History:*

I have read with much interest the article by Professor Hart on the dangers that beset international peace published in the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY, and have been especially struck by his remarks upon the principle of the right of neutrals to trade with any belligerents unless carrying acknowledged contraband of war or bound to a blockaded port. He did not concern himself with the scope nor the theoretic justice of the principle to which he referred; he did, I think, imply that not only does such principle exist but that its validity has been vindicated by the "traditional" attitude of the United States.

It is no doubt proper for any nation at any time to enunciate principles and axioms of conduct that it considers just; to assert their validity and even their universality of application, and to vindicate such principles and such validity and universality by all methods that are honorably within its power. But if these points are to be demonstrated by an appeal to history, then a country will not (by the historical method) have vindicated the universal nature or the validity of a principle which it has either not upheld or has contested when it has temporarily ceased to belong to the class to which the applicability of the principle would be beneficial. Thus, in dealing with the question of American claims under what Professor Hart terms the "traditional" neutral rights of the United States, it would seem relevant and necessary to determine what the United States has considered to be neutral rights when she has herself been at war.

In the case of the late war this cannot be

impossible of achievement. From the date of the entry into the war of the United States, the policies of the Allied and Associated Powers with regard to contraband and methods of blockade were not made without her knowledge, assent and cooperation. The presence of an American member of the Contraband Committee in London was among the earliest features of American participation. The history of what was done, and of the specifically American attitude toward and influence on each several question as it arose, must therefore be a matter of record at Washington, and has become an integral part of the American "traditional" attitude toward the principles applying to the rights of neutral trade in time of war.

Although policies entered into, for whatever reasons, during the late war may not of necessity have altered the "traditional" attitude of the United States toward neutral rights considered as specifically American, they must form a consideration vital to a point touched on by Professor Hart, namely, to the allegation that certain American citizens have valid claims against Great Britain in any way founded upon the "traditional" attitude of the United States toward principles of general application to neutral rights. Without elucidating the attitude taken by the United States in respect of those very principles while herself a belligerent it is impossible to conclude with what warrant her citizens can found claims for prejudice to their interests suffered during this very war upon her "traditional" attitude, and also quite unnecessary to suggest reasons for non-insistence on such claims.

J. M. WHITEHEAD.

Cambridge, Mass.

#### ROBERT E. LEE'S GENERALSHIP

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The article by Elbridge Colby in your October issue on Robert E. Lee is somewhat of a puzzle to an admirer of Lee, whom the article depreciates without much basis of fact, and of Pershing, in laudation of whom the article apparently was written. It is not at all necessary to depreciate Lee in order to praise Pershing. The conditions under which the two men made their reputations, the extent and character of the means available to each of them, and their orientation were so radically different that no equivalent comparison can be made.

The author's opening remark states the thesis and gives all the authority that is adduced in the course of the article. Who are the "sober-minded historians" who have reached "the conclusion that lack of exact knowledge of events \* \* \* has resulted in the creation of a Lee legend"? What is the new evidence to correct "the conclusion that

lack of knowledge" has brought about? Gettysburg is made the point of departure and of conclusion. The Seven Days, Antietam, and the Wilderness are not mentioned.

Much of the "argument," so far as it can be called argument, is by insinuation and innuendo. True, "it takes hard discipline and strong character to drive troops long distances to effect surprises and hit decisively," but to say "such a character Lee did not have" is a statement so absurd as hardly to merit comment. The author compares Lee's tenderheartedness and caution to Pershing in Mexico, to Grant at Vicksburg, to Thomas at Nashville. He heads the list with "Pershing \* \* \* almost tied hand and foot in Mexico"—a far cry to Lee in the Wilderness. Has the author ever studied Grant's campaign to Vicksburg and his relations with McClernand or the correspondence between Thomas and the Washington authorities in the days before the battle of Nashville? We have no evidence that Grant took Vicksburg or Richmond, or Sherman Atlanta, or Pershing the Argonne with "a single devastating thunderbolt." In the author's conception Lee may not have been "a strong man like Pershing," yet he fought more successful pitched battles than has any other American General. If Lee did not possess "the true trait for command," no one of the commanders with whom he is compared had it. Furthermore, had Lee acted toward Davis as the author would have us believe Pershing would have acted, he would not have lasted six months. Always Davis was the President, the superior officer, no matter how dominating the will of his subordinates. An examination of Pershing's correspondence would probably evidence a similar attitude of deference to President Wilson.

This is a typical, up-to-date, idol-smashing effort, with quotations out of their context to prove a thesis. One would think Lee was no soldier or leader and was only retained in command by Davis's indulgence rather than because of any degree of ability and accomplishment. And yet all the *opinion* expressed still fails to explain how Lee was able to carry on through three years of active campaigning. In the circumstances few could have done as well, none better.

Pittsburgh, Pa. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The paragraph referring to the floods in West Flanders on Page 335 of the November issue should have been inserted under Belgium instead of Holland.

#### MUTILATED HUNGARY

*To the Editor of Current History:*

Mr. Ludwig in his article, "Mutilated Hungary," in the October CURRENT HISTORY, says that the Treaty of Trianon "led to cultural,

educational and economic chaos in Central and Southeastern Europe." This seems to me a far-fetched statement. The rapid recovery of the Succession States is one of the most surprising phenomena of the post-war period. Even Hungary, in spite of the "mutilation" to which it was subjected, is economically progressive. If such a quick recovery could take place in such a short time it must be due not only to foreign financial help and commercial policies, by means of which the lost advantages of geographic unity are gradually being regained, but also to the inherent soundness of the new political structure of Central Europe.

Mr. Ludwig claims that "Hungary was to remain intact and united" and that "her integrity was corresponding with the overwhelming wishes of the majority of the people inhabiting Hungary." The constant persecution of Slovaks, Rumanians, Germans and Croats by the Hungarian State had aroused the bitterest resentment in all these races. The explosion was prevented only by an effectively organized system of repression, rule by gendarmes, open voting and corrupt elections.

Mr. Ludwig lays considerable stress on the argument that the pre-war Hungary was food purveyor to the population of Austria and that "the new States have by their exaggerated and uneconomical agrarian reforms reduced the intensive cultivation of their soil." Before the war Hungary was a feudal State. Most of the landed property in Slovakia and Transylvania was in the hands of a few Hungarian magnates. The system of large estates was mainly responsible for the fact that during the thirty years preceding the outbreak of war 700,000 Slovaks, according to Hungarian statistics, had to emigrate—a tremendous loss for a nation of 2,500,000, and a serious indictment of the system which is supposed to have supplied Austria with food and could not feed its own citizens. The agrarian reforms carried out in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania did away with this system and established a barrier against the infiltration of radical ideas from the East.

In this surging tide of democracy in Eastern Europe, Hungary is the only remaining island of feudalism. Hungary is topheavy with an aristocratic class, too large to be supported on the pre-war scale—by a country decreased in size. The real aim of the revisionists is not

the rectification of small frontier anomalies, and so forth, but the restoration to Hungary of the lands lost by the aristocracy.

KAREL LEITNER,  
Editor of the *New York Listy*.



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# Causes of Stock Market Boom

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

THE great upward surge in security prices which began in the Summer of 1921 and which thousands of people all over the country evidently think is destined to continue indefinitely into the future falls into four periods. In the first period, from August, 1921, to March, 1923, stock prices may be said to have risen as a natural sequel to the calamitous decline incidental to the financial crisis and commercial depression of 1920-21. The second, from March, 1923, to May, 1924, was a period of reaction from that advance. The third, from May, 1924, to February, 1926, was a period of rising prices, and although the upward movement was particularly rapid, there is no conclusive evidence that it was not fully justified by a sweeping improvement in business and financial conditions. The fourth, from February, 1926, to the present time, has been distinguished by a sharp but brief reaction followed by a period of stock speculation which has been and still is the wonder and amazement of the entire world.

It is important to note at this point that the New York Stock Exchange has not been the only scene of abnormal speculative activity. Smaller exchanges all over the country have risen from obscurity to prominence through the huge volume of business they have enjoyed. In Canada speculative activity has run riot, the volume of trading on the Toronto Stock Exchange, for example, having at times made a fair comparison with the turnover on the "big board." Germany, France and England have all had their speculative booms, that which occurred on the Berlin Boerse being especially notable because of its disastrous ending in the famous Black Friday of May 13, 1927.

## A WORLD-WIDE PHENOMENON

Fundamentally, of course, there is only one explanation for this world-wide rise in security prices, and that is the emergence of a war-torn world from the depths of depression to a state of reasonably satisfactory prosperity. In the United States and in certain other countries, notably Canada and Argentina, prosperous conditions have now persisted for an unusually long period of time. In Europe business conditions are not so unqualifiedly satisfactory, but the general outlook has improved so vastly in the last two years that it is small wonder that investors have been eager bidders for securities of all sorts. This return to confidence is perhaps most picturesquely illus-

trated in France, where the peasants, for centuries presenting the classic example of the hoarding instinct in economically backward countries, have only recently poured into the Bank of France their hoarded gold in exchange for paper francs.

Against this briefly outlined background it is possible to trace somewhat more vividly the growth of speculative activity in the United States since the depression of 1921. By the beginning of 1922 the worst of the depression was over. Although the outlook was still beclouded by existent and threatened labor difficulties and by virtually bankrupt conditions in large agricultural areas, inventories of raw, semi-finished and finished goods which had become badly frozen in the price decline of 1920-21 were gradually being liquidated, the peak of the credit strain had passed and commercial paper rates had declined to 5 per cent. Partly on account of the slowness of the recovery, moreover, the commercial demand for bank credit had not become heavy, and with the gradual return to confidence in the business world there quite naturally arose a demand for the securities of well-managed companies, particularly those which had successfully weathered the financial storm of 1921, and by the end of the year (1922) the average of twenty-five representative industrial stocks had risen to \$110.10, as against an August, 1921, low point of \$66.24.

## THE SITUATION IN 1923

The Summer of 1922, however, was extremely important from a stock market standpoint in that it marked the end of the decline in interest rates noted above. Early in 1923, indeed, it became evident that the credit situation was rapidly becoming less satisfactory. By early Spring commercial paper rates adjusted for seasonal variation had risen from the previous Summer's low of about 4 per cent. to nearly 5 per cent., and in the past similar movements had almost invariably heralded the end of the then current rise in stock prices. Business activity, moreover, after rising gradually in 1922, increased rapidly in the first five months of 1923. With commodity prices also rising rapidly the business community, with the events of 1920 still fresh in mind, was in a mood unusually susceptible to the warnings which various agencies, both official and unofficial, issued at that time with respect to the danger of a repetition of the ill-fated boom of 1920. In February, 1923,

the Federal Reserve Bank of New York raised its rediscount rate from 4 to 4½ per cent., and shortly thereafter the stock market reached its peak and began to decline. To be precise, the average of twenty-five representative industrial stocks rose to \$118.41 in March, 1923, and fell to \$99.05 in October of that year.

Aside from temporary fluctuations which are a part of every broad rise in security prices it is thus clear that this first phase of the current bull market in stocks represented a normal recovery following an unusually severe financial crisis and business depression. Similarly the second phase, which lasted until May, 1924, represented a normal reaction from the preceding advance. The decline from the March peak, however, and the decline in business activity which lasted with one interruption from May, 1923, until July, 1924, are unique in that they were phases of what was probably the first publicly engineered recession in economic history. Despite its peculiar origin, it was genuine enough, and except for a brief interruption early in the year it lasted until the Summer of 1924. The worst of the decline in the stock market was, to be sure, over by October, 1923, when the industrial average reached a low of \$99.05; but thereafter, except for a sharp rally which ended in February, the

market was able to make little progress, and at the end of May, 1924, the industrial average stood at \$106.05.

#### THE THIRD PHASE

At this point it is worth pausing to note the circumstances which gave birth to the third and perhaps the most interesting phase of 1921-28 stock market history. The industrial and general trade outlook was dark. The economists who had warned of the danger of another 1920 boom at the beginning of 1923 were now frankly worried lest the recession partly brought about by their own warnings should now terminate in another 1921 depression. The European situation was decidedly uncertain. In two directions, however, there were signs of better times ahead, and these turned out to be the decisive factors in the subsequent course of the stock market.

The first was the comfortable position of the money market. The business recession was releasing large quantities of credit previously tied up in inventories and in otherwise financing the commercial activities of 1923. A gentle but persistent decline in commodity prices contributed to the same result. In the Spring of 1924, moreover, the Federal Reserve authorities, realizing that the restrictive campaign

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had been carried too far, began the purchase of large quantities of Government securities. With the credit thus provided, the commercial banks of the country were enabled to liquidate their indebtedness at the reserve banks and interest rates on all classes of loans declined sharply. The bond market responded immediately and prices rose almost perpendicularly from March to August, 1924. With the yield on such securities sharply reduced, and with such standard dividend-paying investment stocks as American Telephone and Telegraph selling in the open market to yield a return of around 9 per cent., the latter class of securities became tremendously attractive to investors.

Another constructive factor in the otherwise dismal outlook which prevailed in the Summer of 1924 was the political situation. Wall Street has always regarded Republican success at the polls as a favorable omen for the stock market, and with the Democratic Party torn by internal strife it became clear long before the election that Mr. Coolidge would be elected President. As early as July, indeed, the stock market began to reflect these two factors, for then began the rise in stocks which continued with hardly a setback worthy of the name until February, 1926. During this period the average of twenty-five representative industrial stocks rose from \$104.88 (the low for June, 1924) to \$186.03 (the high for February, 1926), and the average of twenty-five representative railroad shares rose from \$54.61 (the low for August, 1923) to \$95.29 (the high for December, 1925).

#### BUSINESS STABILITY

The importance of the domestic credit situation during this period can hardly be over-emphasized. After declining to slightly lower and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in the Fall of 1924, commercial paper rates, adjusted for seasonal variation, rose gradually until the Fall of the following year, but at no time did they rise higher than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the level which in the past had almost invariably proved critical for the future of the stock market. The rise in the bond market was halted by this rise in short-term rates, but at no time did bond prices show signs of serious weakness. And throughout the entire period the general business situation was entirely favorable. Business activity recovered sharply from the depression of 1924, but after the turn of the year 1925 the curve of business flattened out at a level indicative of only slightly better than average productive and distributive activity, commodity prices entered into a moderate but definite downward trend, and at no time, except in isolated instances, was there any evidence of undue expansion in production, distribution, prices or inventories. Toward the end of 1925

the statisticians were beginning to announce the realization of their age-old dream, the elimination of the business cycle. Business had become stabilized!

And yet the unprecedented rise in stock prices was the cause of serious concern on the part of the statisticians and the economists. The leaders of economic thought, at least those who received the greatest publicity in the public print, were at the beginning of 1926 bearish, practically to a man, on the immediate market outlook. There was, indeed, considerable basis for the dire forecasts which emanated from Cleveland and other economic watch-towers. Never before had a rise of such violence taken place without serious impairment of the market's technical position and a subsequent collapse of prices. The money market, though still fairly comfortably situated (thanks to the Reserve Banks which had offset the effects of heavy gold exports in the first half of 1925 by their open market operations in Government securities), had risen  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. from its preceding cyclical low point, and this in itself was a warning of declining security prices.

#### A CORRECT DIAGNOSIS

This brings us to the fourth and final (?) phase of this bit of current financial history. The first quarter (of the year 1926) opened with a touchdown for the forecasters, for in March occurred one of the worst breaks in the history of the New York Stock Exchange. After a short rally another wave of selling swept the market, and for the last two weeks of March stocks declined practically without interruption. By the end of the month a large portion of the gains of 1925 had been wiped out. The victory of the forecasters was short-lived, however, for although they naturally saw in the March decline a complete confirmation of their position, their widely accepted opinion that it was but the beginning of a long bear market helped build up a large short interest, the forced covering of which helped to accelerate the sharp rise which began in May and has continued up to the present time. The more astute observers noted, however, that the tightening in the money market which preceded the March break was due almost entirely to the rise in the stock market itself and that consequently any decline in stocks would bring prompt relief to the money market. This turned out to be the correct diagnosis, and the forecasters were forced to accept overwhelming defeat and finally to retire from the field discredited and baffled.

The course of the stock market since the Summer of 1926 is too familiar to require detailed analysis. Merely to recount the interesting details pertinent thereto would require several times this space. What is really of



interest is, of course, the present position of stock prices, particularly with reference to the future. In an admittedly rash attempt to analyze the present situation, the really important details of the dramatic developments of 1927-28 will come into view.

#### EFFECT OF HOOVER'S ELECTION

In the March, 1926, break the industrial averages fell to a low of \$137.65 from a February peak of \$186.03. By May, 1928, they had risen to a peak of \$273.35. In June a severe break occurred, during which a new high record for a single day's trading, 5,052,790 shares, was established, and the industrial average fell to \$241.29. The only effect of this break, however, was to bring a period of comparative dullness into the market, which lasted until the middle of August. Then occurred a further sharp rise which carried the industrial averages, on the Monday following the news of Mr. Hoover's election, to \$309.10. On that day all previous records for the volume of trading were shattered by a turnover of 5,745,560 shares. The ticker proved completely inadequate to the task of reporting the avalanche of transactions, and the final quotations did not appear on the tape until an hour and thirty-four minutes after the market closed.

Taking a long-range viewpoint, every indication known to the student of stock market history points to the conclusion that we are now (Nov. 12) at or very close to the top of this greatest bull market in history, and that a severe decline is in prospect. It should be noted, however, that the exact date of the beginning of this decline is as great a mystery as ever. Not only is it impossible to pick the exact top of a bull market, but conditions are so radically different today from those which have existed at advanced stages of past bull markets as to make precedent of almost no value in trying to forecast the future.

The truth of this last statement will be appreciated when it is realized that short-time interest rates have long since risen to the extent which in the past has almost invariably foretold a severe decline in stocks. Except in a few instances, however, the speculative fever which is sweeping the public into the stock market in ever increasing numbers has not as yet definitely infected the domain of business planning and commodity purchasing. That is to say, the credit stringency which exists today, aside from that part of it which has been due to gold exports and to the futile restrictive campaign of the Federal Reserve banks last Spring, has been caused by the market itself.

This leads us inevitably to the consideration of the most uncertain factor in the situation—the one which the forecaster has learned to dread because of its entirely unpredictable

character—Federal Reserve policy. No one any longer seriously questions the fact that the easy money policy initiated by the Reserve Banks in the Fall of 1927 gave a most powerful impetus to a market which had begun to show distinct signs of weariness. Why the Reserve Banks embarked upon this policy, although this has been the topic of endless discussion, is for practical purposes immaterial. The important point is that it was initiated and carried out in its early stages under cir-



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cumstances of such mysterious secrecy that no outsider could reasonably have been expected to anticipate it or even to be certain of what was actually going on for several weeks after the first purchases of Government securities were reported.

So even now, more than a year later, the immediate future of the money market depends to a considerable extent upon Federal Reserve policy. By meeting the usual Autumn demand for credit for crop-moving purposes through the purchase of bankers' acceptances rather than by the purchase of Government securities, the Reserve Banks have indicated that the recent easier tendency in the money market, so far as the Reserve Banks are concerned, is but a temporary reversal of the restrictive policy of last Spring. It is perfectly possible, on the other hand, for the Reserve Banks, by continuing the purchase of acceptances when present maturities expire, and by purchasing in addition Government securities in the open market, to bring about a continuation of the present easier tendency for at least several months to come.

Yet this is about all that can be said in support of the apparently countless individuals who evidently look for an indefinite continuation of rising prices. Even political factors, which have so strongly favored the bull party for the past six months, can no longer be looked to for support. For with Mr. Hoover safely ensconced in the White House, and with the Republicans also in command of Congress, it will no longer be necessary for the Federal Reserve Board to create artificial ease in the money market, except at such times as such action may be legitimately required. It will no longer be necessary, for a time at least, for Government officials, from the President down, to issue optimistic statements on the market, on brokers' loans or on the business outlook, as they have done during the last six months whenever the market showed signs of wavering. (Stocks would have risen in any case, although the timing of the operations of the various stock market pools was beyond question affected by these statements; and their issuance at such a critical period, as the subsequent rush of the public to buy stocks shows, was entirely indefensible!)

### THE BULL MARKET

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# CURRENT HISTORY

## BOOK REVIEWS

VOL. XXIX

JANUARY, 1929

NO. 4

### America's "Painless Imperialism"

By CHARLES JOHNSTON

JOHN CARTER, whose previous book took for its thesis that mankind is and has always been a combative animal, as prone to fighting as the antlered stag, now writes\* concerning a kindred tendency in the American people, the impulse to increase and multiply, to replenish the earth and subdue it, by means of bills of exchange rather than bullets, by low-priced cars rather than by batteries of artillery, by the flaunting not of war flags but of movie films. He depicts the rise and growth of Americanization, its operation among alien peoples and in distant climes; he even goes so far as to foresee for our America a serene and cheerful senescence, when the sceptre of productivity shall pass to our successor in the dominance of the world. With an undoubted gift for lucid presentation, for arraying facts and figures and for accurate detail, Mr. Carter shows us that for the first time in the history of nations America represents a people attaining to world power not so much by conquest as by purchase, building up an empire by instalment payments, and now extending that empire not by armies but by trade.

When the first seeds of American rule were sown in the New World the tendency was to buy new territories rather than to take them by force. Mr. Carter skillfully assembles the whole record of the facts, with the amounts paid, save only for the earliest stage, the absorption of the lands held by the aboriginal American Indians. Yet even in this earliest and most acquisitive period the theory of purchase was always tacitly present and often explicitly active. The Indians were induced to make treaties with the newcomers, turning over their inadequately developed lands for value received, though the consideration was not always calculated with scrupulous regard to the square deal.

It is in the second stage that the principle of buying an empire for cash gains its fullest expression. Jefferson struck the keynote, as he did for so much of American life, art and

science. Mr. Carter gives us, in full and accurate detail, the history of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, when the pressure of the English fleet and Napoleon's need of ready money led him to sell an empire. There was fighting over the northern regions of Spain's vast Mexican realm, but after the fighting the United States invariably paid great sums of money for the new territories acquired, including those perennial rivals, Florida and California. Alaska represents a straight purchase without any preliminary skirmishing. Spain received very large sums of money for her lost colonies thirty years ago. Colombia was paid for the rights sequestered to construct the Panama Canal, and her stepchild, the Republic of Panama, received a separate dowry. So the Danish islands in the Caribbean were bought with honest money, and there have been proposals to accept the sugar islands of Great Britain and France in return for cash already advanced during the World War.

Mr. Carter does not say so explicitly, but his thesis is that the world expansion of American influence, our "painless imperialism," is a continuation of exactly the same method; we are widening our frontiers by selling "Yankee notions," both ponderable and imponderable, and the essence of the transaction is that the purchasers in each case act of their own free will, lured by the attractiveness of our wares. The process is, on the whole, equitable and pacific. Up to this point Mr. Carter has been concerned with fairly homogeneous material, a single national type with a defined method and polity. When, however, he comes to deal with the Old World, and particularly with what he describes as "The Struggle Between America and Europe," he is apt to carry less conviction, to arouse more questioning in the minds and spirits of those who see the widely contrasted lives of the nations of Europe from within. Because the wide area of the United States is so uniform with all its local diversities, he tends to take for granted that "Europe" is also a single entity.

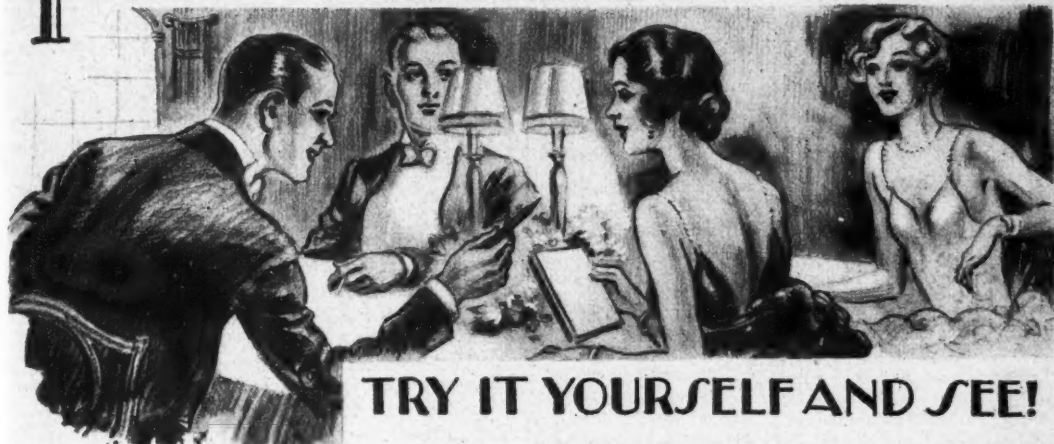
It is especially in his treatment of President

\**Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism.* By John Carter. 348 pages. \$2.50. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

*Continued on page vi*



# The Sentence Nobody Can Write



**TRY IT YOURSELF AND SEE!**

**SUPPOSE** some one asked you to write this sentence—"There are three to's in the English language: to, too, and two"—how would you write the words "three to's"?

Of course, "to's" is wrong; but what word would you put in its place? Would you write "too's," or "two's"? But these are also wrong because there is only one of each of these words in the language. There are not "three to's," "three too's" or "three two's"! But there is one correct answer. Would you like to know it?

Clement Wood explains this sentence in his new book, "A Novel Way to Cultured English," and he shows how this baffling problem is only one of the thousands of examples that prove our language the most difficult and confusing in the world. That is why so many people who think they speak good English are hurting themselves both socially and in business by making serious mistakes in their speech and writing. The pity of it is that they do not know how bad the mistake, or how badly it grates upon cultured ears.

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If you have had an exceptionally scholarly environment; if you have had constant instruction; if you are well-read, you may stand out as one of the envied few who speak and write cultured, intelligent English; but if you have missed such a training and environment, how can you expect to speak or write that kind of English upon which your social and business success depends?

Clement Wood, famous novelist and lecturer, and a former university instructor of English, has given us a complete novel and a guide to correct English combined. Here is an excellent and a romantic story, a brilliant work of fiction in itself. It may be lifted bodily from the book and could be read as a separate novel. But running closely with it is another book that is a thorough survey of our entire language built upon the plot, characters and action of the story. And this, like the novel, is also complete within itself.

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*Continued from page iv*

Wilson's foreign policy that Mr. Carter falls into this habit of thinking and speaking of "Europe" as an entity. In this, the ablest and most brilliant part of his book, Mr. Carter in effect depicts President Wilson as blinded by a formula of uniformity, and thus failing to perceive realities which are clear to every discerning European. Let us imagine a rich Old World garden adorned with flowers of every hue, where iris has dipped the woof. And let us imagine the arrival of a pushing, enterprising gardener, whose vision is monochromatic, restricted to the oranges and yellows. The gardener will introduce a lavish abundance of new and striking flowers, including the golden glow dear to suburban hearts. The effect might be enlivening and arresting, yet the slowly developed color harmonies of the ancient garden might suffer detriment. Such a single-colored mind President Wilson had; something of the like monochromatism may fairly be charged to his prophet. Yet the garden of Europe will survive.

The future swan song of senescent America is eloquently and touchingly indicated: "If we have not burdened ourselves with the trappings of imperial sovereignty, we shall be under no compulsion to fight for our prestige or to preserve an obsolete political condition. We can quietly let go colonies which we have never annexed. We need fear no insurrection from races whom we have never conquered. Our work will be done. For nations, as well as for men, it is an art to grow old gracefully." A notable epilogue to a remarkable book.

## British Commonwealth Of Nations

By DUANE SQUIRES

DEPARTMENT OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, STATE  
TEACHERS COLLEGE, MAYVILLE, NORTH DAKOTA

"TO appraise the historic tendencies of cohesion and unity in contrast with those of disintegration and decay, to follow ancient models and to write history in terms of politics, not because the political structure is more fundamental, but because it is more objective and the medium through which latent social forces find their expression"—such is the expressed purpose of Dr. Hall's volume,\* and few there will be, once having read it carefully, who will not agree

with the statement that he has carried out his ambition ably and with consummate literary skill.

The book begins with the efforts of Joseph Chamberlain in the late '90s to bring about some kind of British imperial federation. His efforts at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee were foredoomed to failure, for, in the somewhat smug satisfaction of the time, the average man, and even the more than average statesmen, could not bring themselves to believe that any change in the general status of things was necessary. The old maxim of Walpole, "Let sleeping dogs lie," never seemed truer than in the month when the Empire was slipping—albeit ever so unconsciously—into the South African War and all the million implications and ramifications which grew out of that.

The story of the mad scramble in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State between 1898 and 1902 is summed up with the plain and truthful statement: "Few of those who love the Empire now condone this war." Why, indeed, should they? The work of Milner and of those who came after him irrefutably demonstrated that Great Britain knew she must give self-government to the Afrikanders. But if any one thinks that autonomy was the whole of the South African problem, let him ponder the careful chapters that trace the story from 1902 to 1910, when the first Parliament opened, from 1910 to 1914 through the internal struggles of the nation, and from 1914 through the dreary years of the war to the time when South Africa became a member of the League of Nations.

"In January, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia became a fact." It would seem as if every portion of the Empire had a tremendously intricate history; as the pages devoted to it indicate, of none has this been truer than of Australia. Its enormous area, its small population, and its proximity to the crowded lands of the East—these, the author thinks, are the main points in Australian political life that explain the actions of the Commonwealth. No doubt he is right. The antebellum problems of the railroad and of the army and navy are very clearly traceable to the basic factors just mentioned. The horror and heroism of the war to Australia are summed up in the pithy statement: "Australia, of the three larger Dominions, put forth the greatest effort."

The chapters on Canada are in many ways the finest in the book. How perplexing the three problems of the Canadian leaders have been! American influence, lack of geographic unity, racial jealousy—these sound simple

*Continued on page viii*

\**Empire to Commonwealth*. By Walter Phelps Hall. 53 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. 49¢ pp.

# Scientific Mind Training

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The average man doesn't see or hear a fraction of what goes on around him; his senses are completely dulled, by lack of use; he doesn't know how to reason properly, because he has never developed that faculty; his powers of attention are completely untrained. His memory is like a sieve. He is altogether lacking in any power of sustained concentration. When his mind is not a complete blank, it flits from one inchoate idea to another. Finally, he has no Will-Power at all, for seldom in his life has he used this God-given faculty. As a result, he is putty in the hands of clear-

thinking people who do know what they want.

The lives of such people can be metamorphosed, by scientific training of their mental faculties. They think they are "failures"; they are usually despondent, discouraged, self-conscious. The trouble is simply that one or more important mental faculties are completely undeveloped in them.

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*Continued from page vi*

enough on paper, but in actual practice they have been of the most tremendous consequence in molding the course of Canadian history. According to Dr. Hall, the Premiership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier from 1896 to 1911 was perhaps the most vital in the tentative solution of Canada's problems. The account of the reciprocity fight of 1911, when the United States-Canadian treaty hung in the balance, is a masterpiece of historical writing. The student who is under the impression that a nation responds unanimously when the war drums beat should read the section devoted to Canada's part in the war, and realize at least in part the gravity of the many vexations that weighed then on the hearts of the Canadian leaders.

Ireland has ever been a thorn in the side of the scrupulously honest historian, for it is a task almost beyond human comprehension to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth concerning that famous island. Beginning in 1893 with the efforts of Redmond and Plunkett to restore Irish self-respect, and coming down through the hectic years of the Third Home Rule bill, the war, the rise of the Sinn Fein and the civil strife in Ireland after 1919, through two chapters the author traces his way in clear and masterful manner to the establishment of the Irish Free State and the final settlement with Ulster in 1924. It is a gripping and encouraging story. For today the age-old problems thronging around the three names, Ireland, Ulster and Great Britain, are at last settled beyond serious trouble.

It is impossible to do justice to such a book as this because every page has that within it which clamors for comment. Suffice it to say, in summing up the respective chapters on Egypt and India, where the names of Cromer and Curzon are almost synonymous with the Empire, the author holds that the British administrators sedulously fostered what sincerely they deemed best for the subject peoples. If the native avalanche at times seems to be on the point of overwhelming the efforts of European directing force and leadership, it must not lead the student to think that the British have been wholly wrong in their methods or intentionally stubborn in their position. On the whole, the author distinctly leads us to feel that the opposite has been true. The reason the steel framework of empire has lasted so well is that it has been so splendidly adaptable and flexible. But we realize full well that no man knows what the morrow will bring in either Egypt or India.

The final chapters deal with the British colonial dependencies of Britain and the birth of the true commonwealth of British nations in

the Imperial Conference of 1926. In regard to the former matter the author well says: "The colonial dependencies of the British Crown defy scientific classification." Nevertheless, he does seek to classify them, although, because of the very nature of the subject matter, his effort is not so interesting as some of his earlier chapters. As to the relationship between the Mother Country and the Dominions, it is made abundantly clear to us that the Dominions are absolutely free, that there is entire and perfect equality in every way between the Dominions and Great Britain. In conclusion the author frankly declares: "The standards which they [the British people] set were not ideal; over certain great stretches of the earth's surface they did not guarantee absolute justice or even tolerant liberty; but by comparison, contemporary or historical, they are the best thus far achieved."

## American History For The School

By PAUL KLAPPER

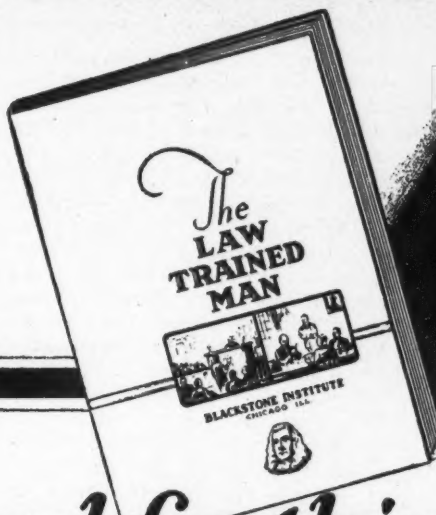
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THE history of school textbooks tells, very effectively, the story of the evolution of changing educational conceptions and our changing teaching practices. An analysis of history texts used in the early part of this century reveals a severely chronological and highly departmentalized study of military and political events. The more remote the period, the fuller the treatment; the more recent the events, the more general and tenuous the treatment. Contemporary history and present-day tendencies were regarded as of little or no importance. The primary objective of the study of history was to inculcate an attitude of loyalty to country, but the content, failing to establish any contact with the child's life, was ill adapted to achieve this aim.

An analysis of *America in the Making*\* gives an insight into current school practices and conceptions of history commonly held among progressive educators. History is no longer an isolated subject; it is taught as one of a group of closely related subjects known as the social sciences. The camp is today sharply divided. Those who follow the leadership of Rugg frankly overthrow the old alignment of history, geography, civics, ethics, and

*Continued on page x*

\**America in the Making*. By Charles E. Chadsey, Louis Weinberg and Chester F. Miller. 2 vols. \$2.98. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1927 and 1928.



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*Continued from page viii*

industry and offer as a substitute the study of a series of social problems. They insist that all that is vital in the old subjects will be taught more effectively in tracing the westward movement, the development of modern systems of manufacture, the substitution of mechanical for human power, the growth of cities and the history of immigration. In the successful pursuit of these and similar lines of thought, the isolation of subject-matter breaks down. Facts pertinent to a problem are assembled regardless of their geographic, civic or historic color, because no problem of real life is wholly geographic or wholly economic. With the elimination of departmentalized subject-matter, facts of history take on new social significance, for they exercise a vital social influence.

But those educators who clamor for the retention of the separate subjects make out a case that does not lack merit. They point out that these problems lack graduation and plunge the child into situations that call for extensive and accurate historic and geographic information. Interrelations and unification sharpen meaning for those who understand the elements that are being integrated. Preadolescents and early adolescents, when precipitated into these social problems, lose themselves in a wilderness of words.

*America in the Making* avoids the two extremes. It is clearly the story of the evolution of American civilization, but it does not fear to assemble facts from related fields in order to lead the child to a clear understanding of significant stages in the growth of his country. Throughout the two volumes, America is a living and growing corporate body, always striving to attain a distinctive social mission. To this conception of the State we may ascribe the balanced treatment of military, political, economic, social and cultural aspects of history.

The authors of *America in the Making* have garnered the picturesque and the dramatic and woven them skillfully into an appealing, and at times, gripping narrative. This is attained, not by omitting or even subordinating factual history, but rather by wringing from facts their social meaning and message. *America in the Making* tells the "Romance of America." And yet it is a child's book in the fullest sense. It is decidedly unlike those fictitious children's books which only the sophisticated adult can understand.

*America in the Making* will find favor with teachers of the junior high school because the authors have made it an effective teaching instrument. It is logically organized and carefully graded. Fundamental concepts are not taken for granted, but are explained by word

and by illustrations that are unique. Its maps aim not at completeness, but try rather to enable the child to visualize one specific set of events at a time. Its pages are rich in original illustrations which combine artistic quality with pedagogic value. No writer has realized, as fully as have these authors, the teaching possibilities of illustrations such as abound in *America in the Making*. The panel treatment of such topics as "The Life of a Colonial Woman" or "Colonial Industries" and the graphic representation of the economic implications of such measures as The Embargo, The Navigation Laws, The Need for New Orleans as an Outlet for the Mississippi Trade, Hamilton's Policies, Protective Tariff, The Federal Bank, A Panic, Evolution of Roads, or Evolution of Artificial Light are without parallel. The thought stimulating questions, the suggested problems and projects, and the supplementary reading lists enrich the text. The "Study Helps" are designed to develop a variety of study techniques which will be of permanent value to the child.

*America in the Making* is progressive and forward looking. In it is recounted the life of America—her trials, her tragedies, her triumphs and her aspirations. There is the story of her struggles to safeguard freedom of speech and thought; there is praise of the farmer, the builder, the poet, and the artist as well as of the warrior and the statesman; of the immigrant as well as of the native born. Although the authors emphasize the child's debt of loyalty and affection for the liberties secured for him, they never urge nationalism that is without a tinge of internationalism.

School history has long told the fictions agreed upon. *America in the Making* lays the axe to many of them. Its pages reveal the fallacy that ours is a man-made civilization by giving adequate place to the part woman played in subduing the wilderness and developing our industrial and commercial life. Again and again the authors break down the old misconception that the story of the United States is the story of the Atlantic seaboard. The West is given its true place in the making of America. At every appropriate turn in the narrative the authors make clear how world history forms the stage on which America plays her part.

## Brief Book Reviews

*CHINA AND ENGLAND.* By W. E. Soothill. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. 1928. \$3.

Mr. Soothill, Professor of Chinese at Oxford and former missionary, knows a great deal

*Continued on page xii.*



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These bigger responsibilities brought new de-

mands. Following his policy of preparation for the job ahead, he trained with LaSalle in Business Management. This added knowledge and ability carried him to his present place as Vice-President and General Manager.

*H. A. Nelson rose rapidly because his ability grew rapidly.*

Skeptics may suggest that the record of Mr. Nelson, just cited, is exceptional. And—if Mr. Nelson

had won his advancement *without* the aid of home-study training, we should be bound to *agree* with the skeptics. For men are rarely promoted to positions they are not qualified to *fill*. When men have *filled* themselves for advancement, however, such promotions are not exceptional at all.

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*Continued from page x.*

about China, and this, his ninth book about that country, is well worth reading as a brief and informative discussion of the opening of China to Western trade, extraterritoriality, tariffs and Chinese nationalism. Where Mr. Soothill merges from the informative into the interpretative, more cynical students of China will, we believe, take issue with him. "If England were polled," he asserts, "after a fair presentation of the case, I venture to say that rich and poor, worker and trader, would declare that our chief interest in China is the welfare of its people. Our link is the bond of a common humanity. By emphasizing trade as our sole interest, we have done our country a grave wrong." However this may be, Mr. Soothill vouchsafes no explanation when he casually mentions elsewhere the presence of British warships in Chinese waters and of an expeditionary force on Chinese territory. Furthermore such statements as the following will not go unchallenged: "It is, of course, easy for communism temporarily to cripple China, as it has crippled Russia, but it can only accomplish its program by a united oligarchy with an adequate army behind it." Thus with an air of moderation and reason, Mr. Soothill has launched a book full of highly contentious material.

**ENGLAND: A History of British Progress From the Early Ages to the Present Day.** By Cyril E. Robinson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1928. \$5.

From Julius Caesar to Stanley Baldwin in 769 pages—that is the achievement of Mr. Robinson of Winchester College, England. This is the decade of outline histories—science, philosophy, literature and Mr. Wells's ambitious attempt on the world—so that Mr. Robinson may be considered modest in tackling merely England. The result is a readable narrative touching on the major events superficially, but with understanding. The bulk of the book need not frighten any one.

**THE PROTECTION OF CITIZENS ABROAD BY THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.** By Milton Offutt. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1928. \$1.50.

Mr. Offutt's book, a recent addition to the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical

and Political Science Series, is a discussion and analysis of numerous separate cases in which the United States has exercised protection by force in foreign lands during the period from 1813 to 1926. "This study . . . has been limited to a consideration of those occasions upon which American forces have engaged in actual hostilities with the troops or citizens of another nation within the jurisdiction of the foreign State. It takes no account of the much more numerous incidents in which protection to American citizens abroad was afforded simply by a display of force. . . . In general it has seemed advisable to treat at greater length such cases as are comparatively little known or the sources for which are not everywhere obtainable, and to deal more briefly with the well known incidents."

**THE HAMMER AND THE SCYTHE: COMMUNIST RUSSIA ENTERS THE SECOND DECADE.** By Anne O'Hare McCormick. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928. \$2.50.

The author of this book has recently been to Russia, and has written down the impressions of her voyage. The book is not filled so much with statistical facts as with important generalizations about the conditions in Russia. There is a chapter on the condition of the women, there is a chapter on the "Soviet Generation," telling of the training and education of the Soviet youth, which is the main care of the Government. Describing her impressions on arriving in Russia, Mrs. McCormick writes: "Russia is young! No one on the outside knows how young. It is primeval as the wilderness is primeval, not stagnant in a dead civilization like China and India, but uncouth and curious and potential—the young Occident more than the young Orient. The Slavs are the last barbarians, the Bronze Age smashing into the age of steel. The more one sees of them—the revolutionary oligarchy, the proletarian leaders in the towns, the peasants in the villages, the whooping reformers in factories, offices and schools, all the solemn workers in the improvised laboratories of a thousand crude and cosmic experiments—the more gorgeously, recklessly infantile they seem."

**AMERICAN RECONSTRUCTION—1865-1870.** By Georges Clemenceau. Edited by Ferdinand Baldensperger. Translated by Margaret MacVeagh. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh-The Dial Press. 1928. \$5.00.

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**NICHOLAS L. BROWN, 276 Fifth Ave., N. Y.**

struction in the United States after the Civil War, this book is of very considerable value, consisting as it does of dispatches to the *Paris Temps* written by Georges Clemenceau during his first visit to the United States from 1865 to 1870. The papers tell of the first reconstruction acts under Johnson, the subsequent impeachment of the President, the election of 1868, into which Clemenceau entered heartily on the side of General Grant, and the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1869, about which Clemenceau says: "With the admission of Texas, the last of the rebel States to re-enter the common fold, and with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the American revolution is over. Looking only at the start-

ing point of the great emancipation movement, the most penetrating observer would have been justified in doubting that the goal was so near. \* \* \* It must be added that the Americans are now making the most laudable efforts to arouse the newly freed slaves to a sense of the dignity of their present condition. The South is sprinkled with schools, and since the end of the war a whole army of teachers, both men and women, has invaded it. All are at work, and time alone can show of what the black race is capable. As for the Republican party, which has done so much for the negroes in so short a time, considering the strength of the prejudices it had to combat, it will remain in power as long as its work is threatened, as

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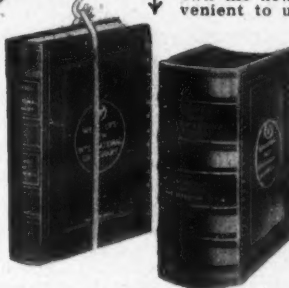
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long as the solution it has evolved for the question is not universally accepted by the conscience of the country. Once this result has been accomplished, its rôle will be over and there will be another transformation in the two great parties which rule the American Republic."

**SALAIRES ET TARIFS.** By William Qualid and Charles Picquenard. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. New Haven: Yale University Press.

This work, which forms part of the French series of the Economic and Social History of the World War under the general editorship of Professor James T. Shotwell, deals with the problems of the working class in France during the war and with the solutions those problems received. The authors discuss in particular the attitude and policies of the French Government when it was faced with working-class discontent. "The economic difficulties caused by the prolonging of hostilities, by the unlimited needs of the armies, by the industrial mobilization of all the productive forces of the nation, and by the call for new types of manual labor," says Professor Shotwell in his introduction, "explains the renewed claims of the laborers, while at the same time the desire for peace and the need for increased productivity justifies the Government's resolute policy of intervention."

**ALEXANDER, A ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY.** by Konrad Bercovici. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corp. 1928. \$2.50.

"Romantic biography" accurately describes the readable and entertaining story which Konrad Bercovici, a colorful Rumanian writer, has made out of the legend of Alexander the Great. It would be hard to find a better source for neat epigrams, pointed anecdotes, swift events and clashing battles than the life of the Macedonian conqueror. The jacket tells us that, before writing this book, the author "trained himself for the task by years of research." But scientific history, while it may have been the basis of the work, places no restraint on his romantic imagination. However, the reader has no cause to complain, for Mr. Bercovici's guess as to what Alexander said and thought is as good as and even better than another's, and his smooth narrative style is pleasing and remarkable for an author who, twelve years ago, could not speak a word of English.

**SOLDIER, ARTIST, SPORTSMAN: The Life of General Lord Rawlinson of Trent.** Edited by Major General Sir Frederick Maurice. Introduction by General Tasker H. Bliss. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928. \$7.50.

The first to die of the important British officers who held commands in the field throughout the World War, General Lord Rawlinson left behind a voluminous journal, a valuable addition to the story of what actually happened on the battlefield. Fitted by inclination and training for the military life, Lord Rawlinson possessed also a taste for writing, a combination which made him an excellent military historian. The appeal of the man lies in his personification of the ideal British gentleman, representing the best traditions of the Empire. Instead of retiring after the war, he became, in 1920, Commander-in-Chief in India, where, at the age of 61, he shot tigers, played polo

and brought about an efficient reorganization of the British forces under him. General Tasker H. Bliss's introduction to the journal throws a sympathetic light on Lord Rawlinson's relations with American troops who were under his command. His words of praise for American courage, says General Bliss, "will bring back to many an American memory the tall, soldierly figure, the warm handclasp, the quiet, earnest speech weighty with the wisdom of long experience and inspiring all who heard with hope and courage, of this man now dead, but who, while he lived, was ever the gallant gentleman and in the truest sense a noble man."

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD, 1918-1928.** By C. Delisle Burns. New York: Payson & Clark, Ltd. \$3.50.

Mr Burns is an authority on the League of Nations and particularly on that branch of its activities organized under the International Labor Organization. Since the armistice he has been a student of the conditions of the common man in relation to world history. That is why this book "is concerned with the fortunes of the common man" and "written for the common man. . . . The book is to provide first a summary record of the most important events of the past ten years and, secondly, an interpretation of forces now affecting politics and industry. . . . Both the selection of certain facts as important and the interpretation of tendencies do imply certain assumptions; and so far as these can be stated they are, it is hoped, the assumptions of the common man who desires some tranquillity and some progress—as much of each as can be combined with the other. . . . The excuse for contemporary history is the use to be made of it in action, in order to prevent war and social chaos and to improve civilized life for the common man."

## Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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BENES, EDUARD. *My War Memoirs*. Translated by Paul Selver. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1928. \$7.50.

Dr. Benes's memoirs, together with those of President Masaryk, will remain as classics in the history of the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the rise of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

BULLARD, ARTHUR. *American Diplomacy in the Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. \$1.50.

A short and exceedingly interesting review of the foreign relations of the United States and a plea for a greater degree of international cooperation.

CARTER, JOHN. *Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1928. \$2.50.

"Designed to show that our economic expansion and industrial prosperity can be divorced from political expansion and economic imperialism."—Preface. See review elsewhere.

CLEMENCEAU, GEORGES. *American Reconstruction, 1865-70, and the Impeachment of President Johnson*. Edited by Fernand Balden-



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Letters written to the Paris Temps by the War Premier when, as a young man, he was in America.

CORTI, EGON CAESAR. *The Reign of the House of Rothschild*. Translated by Brian and Beatriz Lunn. New York: Cosmopolitan, 1928. \$5.00.

A second volume of the history of the famous family of bankers, continuing the record from 1830 to the present day.

FULOP-MULLER, RENE. *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*. Translated by F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait. New York: Viking, 1928. \$5.00.

A portrait of the evil genius whose extraordinary career contributed not a little to the wreck of the Russian Empire.

FULLER, ROBERT H. *Jubilee Jim; the Life of Colonel James Fisk Jr.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. \$3.50.

Writing in the first person, the author masquerades as Rufus Phelps, the lifelong friend and publicity man of Fisk, the most picturesque and engaging of the financial pirates in the period following the Civil War.

HARLOW, ALVIN F. *Old Post Bags: the Story of the Sending of a Letter in Ancient and Modern Times*. New York: Appleton, 1928.

Thirteen chapters are devoted to the history of the postal service in other countries, nine to the United States and six to the ocean and air mails, postage stamp franking and similar subjects. Many interesting illustrations.

HOWLAND, CHARLES F. *Survey of American Foreign Relations*. 1928. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928. \$5.00.

The first of an annual series of reviews of our foreign relations, prepared under the direction of the Council on Foreign Relations, by a group of experts, including also Arthur Bulard, H. B. Ellison and Quincy Wright.

KALLEN, H. M., edited by. *Freedom in the Modern World. Lectures delivered at the New School of Social Research*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1928. \$2.00.

Protests against present compulsory conformity by Dr. Ryan, Professor Chaffee, Clarence Darrow, Silas Bent, Max Eastman, John Dewey and others.

LAVEILLE, A. *A Life of Cardinal Mercier*. Translated by Arthur Livingstone. New York: Century, 1928. \$2.50.

About one-half of this biography, written by the Vicar General of Meaux, deals with the Cardinal's activities during the war.

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The origin and early history of American railroads, East and West. Makes no attempt to cover their later development. Many interesting illustrations.

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD J. *The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations Since the Peace Settlement*. London: Milford, 1928. 7s. 6d.

Problems of foreign policy incident to the reorganization of the Empire as the British Commonwealth of Nations and the way they are being met.

WARREN, CHARLES. *The Making of the Constitution*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1928. \$6.00.

Contemporary opinion as to the necessity for the Constitution; how the work of the Convention was viewed by the men of the time; and a review of its debates from day to day.

YARD, ROBERT STERLING. *Our Federal Lands: a Romance of American Development*. New York: Scribner, 1928. \$5.00.

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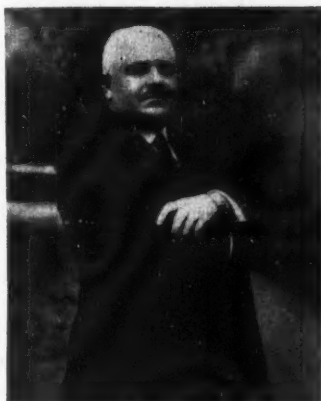




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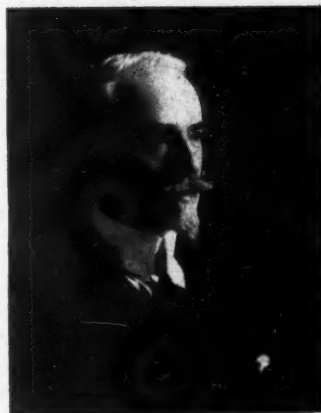
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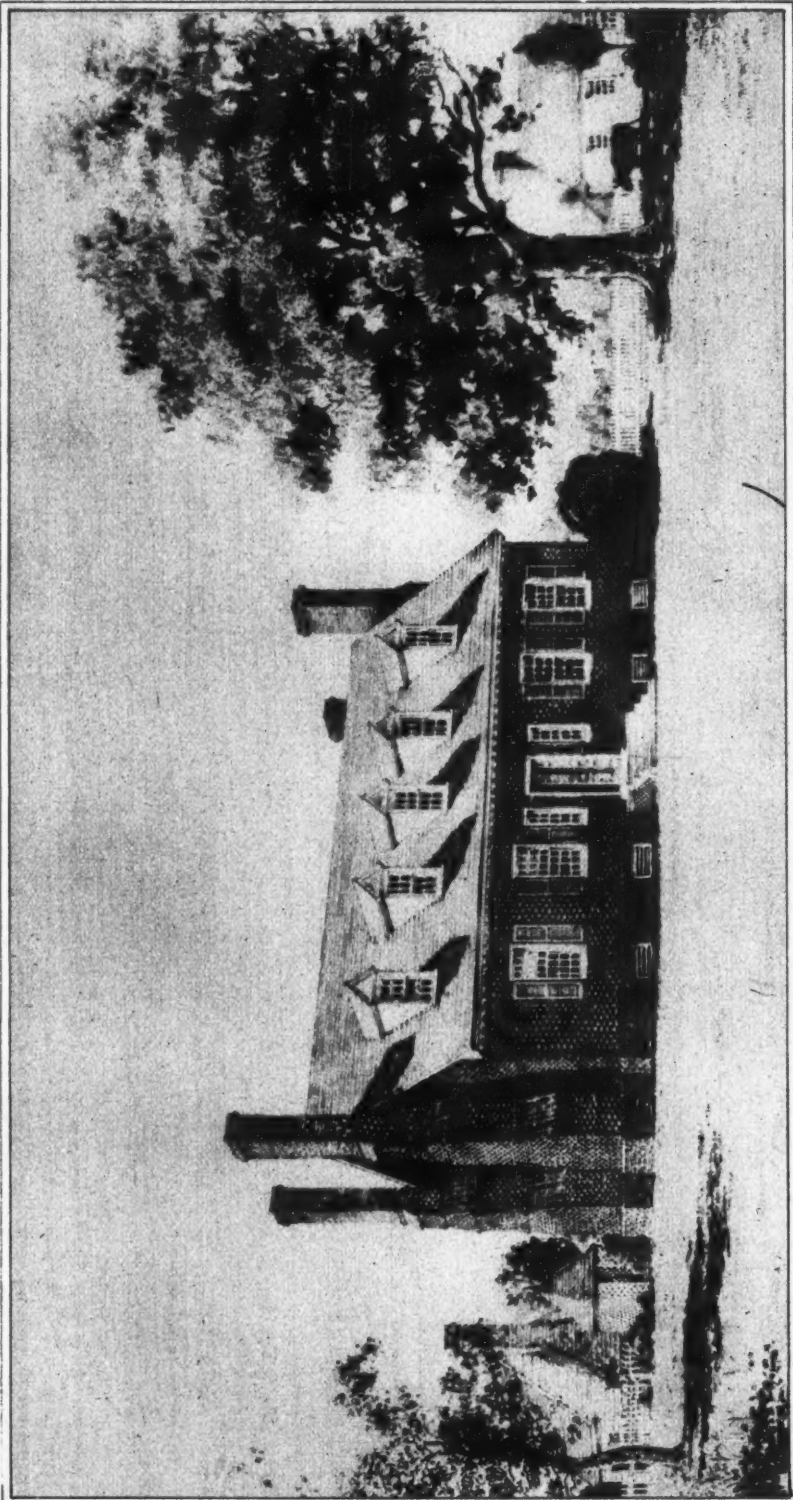
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